OUR OWN MAN IN HAVANA: CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S FIRST DISPATCH .... Page 7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 13, NO. 10 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 19, 1960

NEW FRONTIERS OR COLD WAR—I

Kennedy confronted by worst economic outlook since 1933

By Ed Sears

(First of three articles)

WHEN John Fitzgerald Kennedy enters the White House next month, he will step into a more serious economic crisis than any new President has faced since Franklin Delano Roosevelt first assumed office. Not since the dark days of March, 1933, has any incoming Administration been confronted with graver economic problems.

Kennedy will ascend to the Presidency in the midst of the country's fourth post-war recession. Practically all the economic indicators—from gross national product, which is going down, to aspirin sales, which are going up—point to a deteriorating state of affairs.

While the present recession is in many ways similar to the three previous post-war slumps, it is different in one important respect. It has been severely aggravated by the large deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. At no other time in history have the nation's foreign economic policies had such a huge impact on its domestic economy. For this reason the Kennedy Administration of 1961 may have to solve even tougher problems than Roosevelt faced in 1933.

COLD WAR DRAIN: The present downturn is but a symptom of a more basic maladjustment: the failure of the cold war to bring to the American people a sustained level of prosperity. The cold war has developed to a point where it not only fails to act as an apparent antidote to the nation's economic ills but actually works as a toxic agent contributing to these ills.

Because of its adverse effect on the payments balance, the U.S. economy can no longer maintain both the cold war and a high standard of living. Instead of bringing the American people both guns and butter, the cold war is confronting them with the choice of guns **or** butter.

As one of its first steps, the Kennedy Administration will have to make this choice. If Kennedy decides to honor that part of his platform which promises more military spending, he will have to scrap his "New Frontier." If Kennedy decides to pursue his "New Frontier," he will have to end the cold war.

In order to understand more clearly

(Continued on Page 4)

DEAD
END
STREET

BOMBS AND BUTTER: HAS AMERICA'S POLICY FINALLY BLUNDERED TO A DEAD END?
The background is Wall Street, but the outlook is as bleak as the foreground (see right)

THE ULTIMATE MADNESS

Civil Defense goal: Nation with the mentality of a mole

By Robert E. Light

THE NATION commemorated the 19th anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor Dec. 7 as hard-sell Civil Defense Day. Throughout the country CD officials distributed leaflets and showed off home bomb shelters which are supposed to protect families from the fireball and fall-out effects of H-bombs. Fire-fighting and other disaster equipment were displayed in downtown areas beside gaily lighted Christmas trees. Sirens were tested in some cities. New York school children marched to "shelter" areas.

Few fell for the pitch; most greeted the day with apathy. They looked at the scurrying CD workers with tired tolerance. There was no appreciable increase in the sale of backyard shelters.

But some found the hoopla a dangerous foolishness which sought to condition Americans to another war and prove that defense against nuclear bombing is

(Continued on Page 10)

In this issue

THE FOLDED CRANES
Report to Readers .... p. 2
THE FACE OF A CITY
New Orleans story .... p. 3
THE CONGO CRISIS
And the West's role ... p. 5
AFTERMATH IN JAPAN
An election analysis ... p. 6
ABOLITION CAMPAIGN
Against Un-Americans . p. 9
JUDGMENT OF PARIS
The Goncourt furor ... p. 12

Have you seen this story in your hometown newspaper?

FIFTEEN HUNDRED H-bombers of the American Strategic Air Force around the world stood by for 30 minutes last month as the world came within a whisker of a nuclear war based on a false report. That the bombers never took off is a modern miracle.

The alarm started at the U.S. Distant Early Warning radar station in Thule, Greenland, when radar screens showed a mass of specks and blobs. The information was fed into electronic computers which interpreted it as "apparently a mass attack by ballistic missiles, coming from the east and aimed at the United States."

The report was sent by submarine cable to North American defense headquarters in Colorado Springs. Instantly messages flashed to U.S. bases around the world. The red telephone signifying danger rang at Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha. The duty officer was told: "Missile attack reported—at present unconfirmed. Be ready to scramble your bombers."

SAC ordered H-bombers to stand by while Thule was signalled for confirmation. There was no answer. Could it have been attacked?

For more than five minutes the U.S. nuclear retaliatory force stood ready for war. Then a message came from Thule: All clear. It was all a mistake.

HOW HIGH THE MOON? This was the explanation from Thule:

The radar aerials picked up the moon, obscured by clouds, as it rose above the mountains. Twisted by the atmosphere, the moon showed up on the screens as blobs and specks at the right size and speed to be missiles from the U.S.S.R.

Thule officers caught the mistake quickly, but an iceberg cut the submarine cable, severing the normal communications system with the U.S. It took a half-hour for Thule officers to locate a radio to relay the all clear.

The story was first reported in London on Nov. 24. It was confirmed almost two weeks later by SAC.

Britain was shaken by the scare. The London **Daily Mail** asked U.S. Air Force officers if they had orders to fire on a single radar report. One officer said: "It is possible that if all our sources confirmed a nuclear attack on the way, we would launch our rockets and scramble our bombers before bombs started exploding on America."

Some wondered what restrained the Pentagon during the period Thule was cut off. Michael Frayn in the Manchester **Guardian** speculated that it was "those old fashioned deterrents, incredulity and funk."

The New York **Post** asked the big question: "How long will our luck hold out?"

THE MAIL BAG

Mole holes

GREENSBURG, PA.

Following is a copy of an open letter sent to Leo A. Hoegh, Director of Civil Defense in Washington:

"The periodic CD incitements to fear, as done Dec. 7, are of course only a part of the brainwashing of the American people, by daily "released" falsehoods and truth-concealments. The supreme lie of the age has been that war-worn Russia will spring a genocidal, suicidal, surprise nuclear attack on the U.S.A. That hoax is required by multi-billioned profiteers (highly respectable but sanguinary at heart) who plan constantly to deceive overtaxed and overpriced Americans.

"From near-infancy, we have been taught that our country is always right, and others always wrong. As a matter of fact, ours is the most childish of all nations. And, consistent with such immaturity, it is also the most self-indulgent, wasteful, hate-stuffed and war-dependent.

"Regarding your appeal to build individual mole-shelters, I do not know a more potent influence to UNmake friends internationally, than such a preposterous undertaking. This, even though it is not yet forced on us by legislation."

J. R. Keister

Hitler's motive

ORANGEBURG, S.C.

Hitler's hatred of the Jews was not motivated solely by political expediency. Nor by commercial jealousy. He and perhaps most of his followers were conditioned by Christianity to hate the Jew. Hitler wrote in **Mein Kempf**: "I believe that my conduct is in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator. In standing guard against the Jews, I am defending the handiwork of the Lord."

The stereotype of the Jew is not a peculiar anomaly of German fascism but is a natural by-product of our glorified Western Christian culture.

H. F. Haas

Globke's apologists

ROSLYN, L.I.

The GUARDIAN is to be commended for its good reporting on the responsibility of Chancellor Adenauer's right-hand man, Hans Globke, for the deaths of tens of thousands of Jews during the Hitler era. It seems to me that it might be worth following up with a report on Globke's supporters in our own country.

One of these is Dr. George N. Shuster, president of the American Council on Germany and former High Commissioner for Germany. This is the man who wrote in a letter to the New York **Times** of Feb. 19, 1960, that Dr. Globke "was known to be a sincere and loyal Catholic; he retained his post in the Ministry of the Interior after the Nazi seizure of power by reason of the fact that the highest ecclesiastical authorities urged him to do so, because of the vital importance of the area of his competence — namely matrimonial law. . .; and that although his association with the codification of the Nuremberg race laws is certainly debatable, it resulted from an honest attempt to deprive these laws of as much malignancy as possible."

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Many people believe that the presence of missiles at Vandenberg air base makes this area a prime target. To a certain extent this is true, but only IF we were in a state of war.

—Thor M. Smith's Notebook column in the Santa Barbara **News-Press**, Nov. 27.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. K. Santa Barbara, Calif.

This is the man who also wrote in **American Judaism**, Passover, 1960, discussing the epidemic of synagogue desecration which began Christmas, 1959, in Chancellor Adenauer's home city of Cologne. He first suggested a Russian-inspired origin for this plague, then denied the existence of proof for his suggestion, but finally made it anyway.

In his 1934 book, **The Strong Man Rules**, he wrote: "Hitler is and has been a greatly perplexed, honestly inquiring and quite unsteady young man."

William Meyers

CP in Canada

NEW YORK, N. Y.

While I have many differences with the Canadian Communist Party's program (as well as with the U.S. party's), the write-off of the Canadian CP by your correspondent in Canada is unwarranted.

While the Canadian party has been hurt by the witch-hunt and by the anti-Communist defections of former national leaders, it is nowhere near "smashed." The Canadian **Tribune** reports that in the municipal elections in Winnipeg votes of Communist candidates showed a big jump and Communist candidates for alderman (M. J. Forkin) and for school trustee (Mary Kardash) were elected from Winnipeg working-class districts and joined two other formerly elected Communists, Alderman Jacob Penner & Trustee Joseph Tuken. Also, the Canadian CP has certain influence in the fishermen's, electrical workers, laborers, auto workers and mine workers unions.

While the New Party seems to represent a limited turn towards a Left-Center (not Left) position with pacifism the strongest possible trend, it is at least in this writer's opinion not a, or the, vital criterion for the liberation of Canada from the stranglehold of U.S. monopolies on the advance to socialism.

What your correspondent fails to describe is the extreme anti-Communist bias in the New Party groupings which ban all Communists; which dare not fight back against the witch-hunting and raiding of the left-unions by the C.L.C., and which subscribe to a general bias against the Soviet Union.

While correctly pointing out that, for example, in Italy right-wing socialism leads only to the swamp of collaboration with imperialism and political degeneracy, you seemingly accept such a trend in Canada and imply that this a blue-print for the U. S.

Jim Bary

What we said was that the formation of a labor-based new party in Canada and the revolt in the British Labor Party over the bomb and the cold war should start new party forces thinking in the U.S.— Ed.

Vie Nuove. Rome

Ink for peace

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Calling all to action! In the next few weeks President-elect Kennedy will be crystallizing his foreign policies. Before they are irrevocably jelled he should hear from every lover of peace in America, urging the ending of the Cold War, the negotiation of total disarmament, the recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United States and the UN, and any other points each individual wishes to make. Write him at the Senate Office Building.

Then multiply your peace-power by starting a chain letter to two (or more) of your friends, asking them to write Kennedy and pass on the chain ad infinitum to their friends.

Ink for peace, not blood for war.

Florence H. Luscomb

Thanks from strikers

KELLOGG, IDAHO

The officers and members of Local 18 certainly appreciate the work you are doing for us and we wish to take this opportunity to express our thanks to you and all those who have contributed through you.

We are also acknowledging the many contributions which have come through you and wish to especially thank Harry's Clothes for the wonderful job he is doing.

You can rest assured that with this kind of support we will not only win our just demands but will also have a more pleasant Christmas.

Luther W. Church
Miners & Smeltermen, Local 18

Status of women

NEW YORK, N.Y.

NG readers will be interested in an unusual issue of Contemporary Law which has 244 pages covering "The Status of Women in the World Today." This remarkable survey may be obtained from the Intl. Assn. of Democratic Lawyers, 234 rue Du Trone, Brussels 5, Belgium, for $2. The issue referred to is the one printed in June, 1960.

Alice B. Citron

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

WITH UNREST GROWING AT HOME, and moves toward a peaceful settlement breaking out all over Europe and Asia, the President proclaimed a state of national emergency and outlined his policies for war mobilization. He could find no other answer to the collapse of his policies of military containment and diplomacy by military duress. These policies, as Britain's **New Statesman & Nation** pointed out, "far from creating positions of strength" have created "positions of increasing weakness throughout the Western world."

Unable to "negotiate from strength" in the coming four-power conference with Russia, to which Washington was forced to accede by British and French pressure, Truman still hoped to negotiate from potential strength—from the threat of havoc to be visited on Russia when the U.S. is militarily "ready." Further indicating his Administration's resolve to torpedo any settlement, he sent Secy. of State Acheson to Brussels to whip the Atlantic allies into acceptance of German rearmament—in the face of Russian warnings that this "will not be tolerated."

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 13, 1950

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES ARONSON, *Editor* — CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (Havana), Gordon Schaffer (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Phyllis Rosner (Rome), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

Vol. 13, No. 10 401 December 19, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

The folded cranes

SADAKO SASAKI WAS A BABY when the Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. She survived, but soon fell ill of the "atomic sickness," as it is called in Japan. She felt that if she folded a thousand paper cranes (the crane in Japan is the symbol of long life), she would be cured of her illness. But she died, a little girl, before she had completed her task. Her friends, in grief and anger, resolved to erect a Statue of the Atomic Bomb Children in Hiroshima, so that Sadako-san and all the other children who had died as she had died would not be forgotten.

For three years that followed they folded paper cranes to raise money, and their life and work were recorded in a movie called **Senbazuru** (Thousand Folded Cranes). Sadako-san is the heroine. When the movie was finished, the children felt they should stay together and keep on folding paper cranes for the victims of the atomic illness still in hospitals. That way they could make the orizuru (folded cranes) the symbol of their fervent desire for peace, and let the world know. Thus the Orizuru Kai (1 Motomachi, Hiroshima City, c/o YMCA, Japan) was formed in 1958.

They visit and comfort the A-bomb victims in hospitals, and when someone without relatives—there are many—dies, they walk in the funeral procession.

IN THE VETERANS HOSPITAL in Waco, Tex., a frequent patient is a man named Claude R. Eatherly, now 42. He comes in for mental treatment. He has in the last years been acquitted of two burglaries of Texas post offices after pleading innocence on grounds of insanity. A grocery store robbery charge was dropped.

A psychiatrist testified at a burglary trial in 1957 that Eatherly had a guilt complex and felt responsible for killing 100,000 persons at Hiroshima. Eatherly was the navigator who guided the plane which dropped the Bomb on Hiroshima.

At last report Eatherly was missing from the hospital. VA officials have no authority to arrest him, or take him back to the hospital. He must be committed again or come back on his own. Meanwhile he wanders the earth, the agonized screams of burning Japanese children piercing his soul.

ON DEC. 7, THE NINETEENTH anniversary of Pearl Harbor, the Defense Department in Washington for the first time released pictures of the Bombs that had dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With endearing charm they had been dubbed "Little Boy" (Hiroshima) and "Fat Man" (Nagasaki). Their size and measurements were released with the same efficiency attending contestants for the title of Miss America.

Their release, the Department said, had been decided on months ago, but had been held up till after the Japanese elections, to "avoid giving leftists there a ready-made piece of anti-American propaganda." There had been some opposition in the State Department to the release, until now, but State finally concluded that "possible reaction would be minimized by release at this time."

ON SUNDAY NIGHT, Dec. 4, in Vancouver, British Columbia, 3,000 persons jammed the Orpheum Theater to hear Dr. Linus Pauling talk about peace. More than 500 were turned away. The Vancouver **Sun** gave the story three full columns on page 3.

Dr. Pauling said: "We are going to be successful. There is not going to be a third world war. The world is not going to be destroyed. Nations are being forced to give up war. The only alternative is to develop international law and settle disputes between nations with a maximum of justice. Public pressure and opinion are becoming more and more effective as the people of the world become more and more united. World opinion is become a greater and greater force."

SADAKO SASAKI, CLAUDE EATHERLY, "Little Boy" and Linus Pauling. A dead little girl, a haunted man, an insane instrument of insane men, and a prophet rallying the people to life.

This is the picture of our time—19 years after Pearl Harbor—as our country heads into an economic depression, the United Nations toys with its own time bomb in the Congo, the Pentagon continues to try to hold back the clock in Laos with a bayonet, and children are sent scurrying to shelter in our public schools in scenes that make Kafka read like Pollyanna.

The desperate men grow more desperate because they know Linus Pauling speaks the truth. The people of the world are becoming a greater and greater force. What better time to join the men of good will in this season of peace on earth? What better resolve for the new year—for ourselves, and for the human race?

—THE GUARDIAN

THE CHANGING FACE OF A CITY

New Orleans mob forces other whites to act

By Joanne Grant

HOWLING TEEN-AGERS, screaming mothers with faces twisted in hate, four bewildered little Negro girls, a white mother fighting off the pack to get her six-year-old daughter to school—the picture of an American city today.

New Orleans, once the city of gaiety and charm, has changed its face. It has also changed its character, for the people have changed. The savagery of the mob that set out on Nov. 14 to stop school integration by frightening four little girls and through them the whole Negro population, was a catalyst that forced many whites to think and to act.

The Negro parents had known it would be bad, but they had also known that it had to be done. Now they say: "We're concerned, naturally, but we intend to see this thing through." It took, it takes, much courage for the parents, Negro and white, to take their children past the yowling egg-throwing crowd to school—especially when they are six-year-olds who do not understand. One child thought the hollering crowds were celebrating a holiday.

THROUGH THE VALLEY: Among the white parents there was one man who made his decision early. He took his daughter to school each day, never submitting to the pressures for a total boycott of the two schools that the Negro girls attend. He is Rev. Lloyd Foreman, a Methodist minister, who walked his daughter Pamela to school every day and listened to the taunts of "nigger lover" and who was shoved and mauled by the mob.

His home was splashed with red paint, screens were ripped off, windows broken. He no longer lives there. A mob gathered at Rev. Foreman's church and shouted epithets as he read the 23rd Psalm inside to an overflow congregation. "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil . . ." he read. His life was threatened. One day a man tapped him on the shoulder as the Foreman car halted at an intersection and said: "I'm going to get you."

Rev. Foreman's courage had inspired Mrs. Daisey Gabrielle, who had taken her daughter out of school and then took her back. Mrs. Gabrielle said: " . . . my conscience tore at me. Are you going to give in to a mob? I knew if I gave up, the minister would give up, too, and there'd be no white child left."

SCURRILITY: A news photographer reported that the home of Mrs. Gabrielle was practically "under siege." There have been raucous demonstrations in her yard and rocks thrown at her windows. A 24-hour guard has been placed on her home and she has hung bedspreads at the windows in case more rocks are thrown. Mr. Gabrielle left his city job as a water meter reader because fellow workers harassed him unbearably.

There is a telephone campaign of intimidation of white parents who have taken their children back to school. There is a boycott of Negro stores. The father of one of the Negro children was fired from his job at a gas station because the owner was intimidated.

There is a campaign of scurrility: a leaflet reads: "The ten most wanted 'Nigger Loving Fugitives'." The leaflet lists ten persons who have been attempting to carry out the Federal integration order starting with Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright whom the leaflet calls "The Enforcer." Other "aliases" listed are: "Hook Nose" for the school board attorney, Samuel I. Rosenberg; "Nigger Head" for a Negro attorney; "Snake Head" for Mayor deLessups S. Morrison.

STREET SCENE: At the height of the mob's rampage during the first week of integration Robert S. Bird reported in the New York **Herald Tribune**: ". . . On a shabby Negro residential block I watched 30 Negroes hold off a hundred members of a white mob by standing in the streets defiantly flourishing five-foot lengths of lumber. For minutes the white youngsters debated whether or not to attack the Negroes. 'If we charge them and they have knives, we'll get cut,' one of the boys argued. The others said: 'Let's go get knives'."

During that week Negroes left their homes armed with baseball bats or bricks. Whites in Negro neighborhoods were attacked; Negro delivery boys or truck drivers passing through white areas were stoned.

All this in a city where Negroes and whites live side by side in mixed neighborhoods, where there is an old Creole saying: "One pot of red beans and rice would serve all the pure-white people in Louisiana." One New Orleans dweller wrote: "New Orleans slums have never been ghettoes, her salons never really lilywhite." Louisiana had a Negro governor for a brief period during Reconstruction.

In the past five years New Orleans has quietly accepted integration of city buses, the public library and all public recreation facilities. But school integration was where the Deep South decided to make its stand, and since New Orleans is the first Deep South city to desegregate public schools there is undoubtedly much pressure from other states. There is also a deep rift between New Orleans and the rural districts from where many of the white demonstrators came.

IN THROUGH THE SIDE DOOR
White students smuggled into school

NOT TYPICAL: Most New Orleans citizens take a moderate view and prefer to have token integration and keep schools open. Mrs. N. H. Sand, president of Save Our Schools, an organization of 2,500 members fighting for open schools, has expressed disappointment at the lack of open support from civic and business leaders, but she said: "What is happening here is not typical at all of this city or the people."

SOS has offered transportation to all children who return to the two integrated schools. The 20 or so white children who returned to school went in SOS cars escorted by a motorcycle policeman and a squad car; Federal marshals, jeeringly called "baby-sitters" by the crowd, escort the four Negro girls.

Judge Wright, author of all New Orleans desegregation orders, said (**Wall Street Journal**, Nov. 16): "Several years ago I was almost like a voice crying in the wilderness. Today we have support, substantial support, among the responsible people here in the city . . . Lots of people don't like what I have done. But more and more are coming to understand that it is something we must do."

CLERGY AND POLITICIANS: New Orleans papers Dec. 3 carried an advertisement signed by 46 clergymen: "Responsible citizenship calls for respect of law and order. In this period of unrest, we of New Orleans can achieve the greatest stature in the eyes of our fellow men by conducting ourselves with charity and dignity and by adhering at all times to the teachings of our churches." Many agree with the Roman Catholic priest who said that decent people haven't spoken out because of the pro-segregation stand taken by the state government. He said: "When the Governor and the Legislature and all the state officials refuse to take a stand for decency and law and when the city officials begin every statement with 'I am in favor of segregation but . . .' how can you expect us to solve these problems?"

Some feel that if Mayor Morrison had spoken out more resolutely in the beginning there would have been no white boycott of the integrated schools. The police kept the mob in check except for one day when thousands of teen-agers tore through downtown streets, but there were relatively few arrests.

One weapon open to those who want to maintain a public school system is the economic one. Businessmen are fretting at the slow-up in retail sales and Negro social organizations have announced a boycott of the usually remunerative Mardi Gras. Negroes say their Mardi Gras funds will be used for "positive social action."

In the midst of all the turmoil the state legislature unanimously adopted a resolution saying that the legislature has "no animosity or ill will" toward Negroes.

Mulzac exhibition till Jan. 5 at Brooklyn Heights gallery

CAPT. Hugh N. Mulzac and Walter L. Herrick will have an exhibition of oil paintings at the Hicks St. Gallery, 48 Hicks St., Brooklyn Heights, from Dec. 16 to Jan. 5. The gallery will be open Tuesday through Sunday from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m.

There will be a reception on Sunday, Dec. 18, from 2 to 6 p.m.

DEMONSTRATIONS END A CIVIC TRUCE

2,000 Negro students march peacefully in Atlanta

MORE THAN 8,000 Negroes staged an early morning prayer meeting at an Atlanta Negro college on Sunday, Dec. 11; after the prayers 2,000 marched through downtown Atlanta in a demonstration against segregated eating facilities and employment discrimination. In what may be a signal for widespread violence and intimidation, a Negro school was bombed early on Dec. 12.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Student-Adult Liaison Committee, was held after two weeks of sit-ins which marked the end of a 30-day truce during which community leaders failed to reach agreement on integration of eating facilities in downtown stores. The sit-ins were the largest and most coordinated demonstration the city had ever seen.

On Nov. 25 students began sitting in and picketing downtown stores in rotating shifts throughout the business day. As a store closed its lunch counter, demonstrators were sent to another locale by "field" captains communicating with demonstrators via two-way (walkie-talkie) radio. Seventy pickets marched throughout each day with students taking shifts of one or two hours each.

A LONG SIEGE: James Wood of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said the demonstration launched a planned two-year program of boycotting downtown Atlanta stores. Apparently preparing for a long siege, Rich's, Atlanta's largest department stores, was installing vending machines and automat-type service. At present customers may purchase sandwiches from machines and eat them standing. Tables were being built in the automat area, however, and presumably anyone would be able to sit after serving himself.

Support for the student drive was widespread. Editor James L. Hicks of the N.Y. **Amsterdam News** reported Dec. 3: "Every colored person in Atlanta seemed to be rallying to the support of the pickets and there was an increasing number of whites giving aid to them. In fact, so many white pickets showed up Tuesday, that Negroes found it difficult to keep all sections of their four-block picket line integrated." Two Negro restaurants supplied coffee and food which was rushed to demonstrators free of charge by Negro cab drivers. Taxi men shuttled pickets from store to store.

PICKETS IN NEW YORK: Demonstrations were held at Rich's, Davison-Paxson, Franklin Simon, F. W. Woolworth, H. L. Green, S. H. Kress, McCrory's, J. J. Newberry, Lane-Rexall and Walgreen. Rich's was the main target of the drive which began with demonstrations in October when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and 70 Atlanta students were arrested. After their arrest Mayor William Hartsfield stepped in and asked for the 30-day negotiating period. Davison-Paxson is owned by R. H. Macy, New York, which was picketed Dec. 3 by New York students after negotiations between the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Macy management had failed to agree on integration of the Southern outlet.

New York demonstrators included representatives of CORE, Brooklyn College and Manhattan branches of the NAACP, Advance, a New York socialist youth organization, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers and the Amalgamated Laundry Workers. Leaflets requested that shoppers boycott Macy's until Davison's ends discrimination and that letters be sent to Fred Atkinson, vice-president, R. H. Macy Co., 151 W. 34th st., New York. Macy's Brooklyn store at Flatbush and Tilden avs. was picketed on Dec. 10. On Dec. 17 picketing was planned at Macy's 34th St. store and its Newark outlet.

LOS ANGELES

A Los Angeles Highlight
A Scintillating
Guardian Evening with
Martha Schlamme
in "Songs of All Nations"
at Ashgrove,
8162 Melrose Ave.
Hollywood
Friday, December 23
8:30 Sharp Tickets $2
Phone Jack Fox for tickets and reservations. WE 3-0114

Kennedy confronted by economic crisis

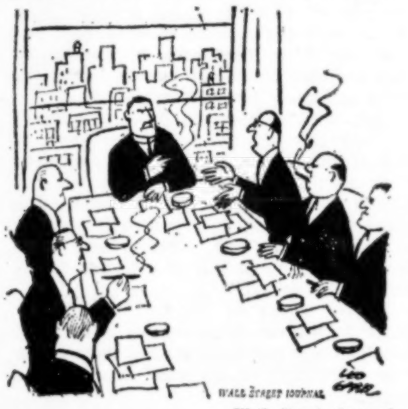
(*Continued from Page 1*)

the problems Kennedy will face, let us examine what precisely is happening to the economy.

GOING DOWN: The gross national product, which is the value of all the goods and services produced by the economy, started to fall last summer. It had been rising steadily from the winter of 1958 until last spring. This decline is taking place, significantly, despite a rise in military expenditures. Officially reported military spending last summer was at a rate of $45.1 billion dollars per year as compared to a rate of $44 billion in the winter of 1958 and to a rate of $44.7 billion last spring, when the gross national product was at an all-time high.

Industrial production, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board, has been declining since January. Stepped-up military spending has thus far failed to stem this decline. There is, furthermore, every reason to believe that industrial production will fall further within the next few months.

Business inventories are now higher than at the onset of the 1957-8 recession. Unless sales rise sharply within the next few months, inventories will have to be cut drastically. Sales are not likely to rise sharply because new orders are falling.



Wall Street Journal

"But I tell you our product just isn't good enough for a thirty-six month payment plan!"

Furthermore, wholesale prices of many commodities are declining. Businessmen thus have no incentive to carry large inventories in the hope of making a killing through a price rise. They now stand a better chance of losing their shirts through a price decrease. They will therefore keep their inventories to a minimum, at a level below that which has, up to now, been considered normal.

PACED BY STEEL: Until inventories fall below this minimum level, industrial production will continue to decline. Since inventories are falling at a slow rate, they probably will not fall below this level for at least several months.

The general decline in industrial production has been paced by the fall in steel output. After breaking all previous records in January, steel production has dropped to 50% of capacity for most of the year. Production in November, 1960, was more than a million tons under that of November, 1959, even though steel mills were closed for nearly two weeks in November, 1959, by the steel strike.

A recent article in the **Wall Street Journal** (Nov. 28) reported that most of the steel companies expect production to drop even further. The main markets for steel (automobiles, machinery, construction) do not look too promising.

While automobile production is at a comparatively high level and has shown considerable improvement over last year, its course in the next few months will probably be downward.

UNSOLD CARS: The plants have been turning out approximately 30,000 cars a day, which is a high production rate. Dealers, however, have been selling only 20,000 cars a day. While this rate is high, it is considerably below the production rate. It has, moreover, been falling. When the new 1961 models first hit the market, dealers were selling almost 22,000 cars a day.

As a result, car inventories have been rapidly increasing. At the end of November, about 1,000,000 unsold cars were in dealers' hands, an all time high for this time of year.

Automobile production will thus be cut back unless, by some miracle, dealers' sales rise sharply. If this miracle occurs, its benefit to the steel industry will be limited. About 35% of the automobiles made today are compacts, which use less steel than the standard models.

There is, however, iltte likelihood that this miracle will occur. New car sales are determined mainly by the price of used cars and the availability of credit.

USED CAR PRICES: Since most potential buyers of new cars are car owners, their decisions to buy or not to buy are in many cases determined by the trade-in value of their old car. The trade-in value the dealer offers to his customers will depend on the price he can obtain for his used cars in the open market.

Higher used car prices raise trade-in values. A high trade-in value usually enables a customer to buy a new car with little or no cash payment and reduces his monthly installment payments. Higher used car prices, therefore, increase new car sales, while lower used car prices decrease them.

Used car prices, at present, are at a post-war low. Foreign imports and American compacts have taken away a significant portion of the used car market, leaving large stocks of these cars in dealers' hands.

With used car prices at depressed levels, new car sales will fall unless credit conditions are eased considerably. In 1955, the easing of credit terms brought new car sales to record levels.

THE CREDIT PICTURE: In that year down payments were reduced from one-third of the new car's value to one-fourth and one-fifth while the repayment time was lengthened from 24 months to 36 months. These measures enabled people to buy cars with little or no cash while, at the same time, they limited their monthly installment payments to a reasonable portion of their income.

This antidote, which was so successful in 1955, cannot work today. With used car prices falling, no bank or finance company can agree to lower down payment requirements very much or to lengthen significantly the repayment time, say from 36 months to 48 months. If the lender is forced to repossess, he may not be able to salvage his investment in a depressed used car market.

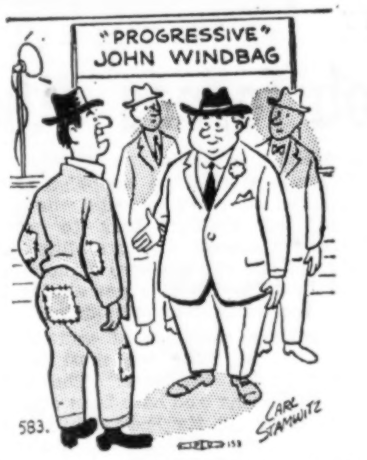
Credit terms, however, can be eased in another way, through the reduction of interest rates. By lowering monthly carrying charges, reduced interest rates can considerably broaden the new car market.

While the incoming Kennedy Administration can take steps to lower interest rates, its ability to do so will be limited by the extent of its commitment to the cold war. As long as the cold war continues, there is little likelihood that credit conditions will ease to the extent necessary to raise auto sales to new heights.

This aspect of the problem will be discussed in greater detail in another article in this series on the gold crisis.

The outlook, therefore, for the auto industry, which is now performing better than any other major industry, is none too good.

CAPITAL SPENDING: Another discouraging sign is the anticipated drop in capital expenditures. In its annual survey on business spending, the publishing firm of McGraw-Hill found that corporations plan to reduce their outlays by 3% next year. Douglas Greenwald, McGraw-Hill economist, estimated that business spending may decline as much as 7%.



Stamwitz, Signalman's Journal

"I'm one of your unemployed constituents, Senator—with the accent on the 'stitch'!"

This drop in capital spending, if it materializes, will not only hurt the machine tool industry, the steel industry, the construction industry and a host of related industries, but, what is more important, will slow, and perhaps may even reverse, the rate of economic growth. A fall in the growth rate will seriously increase the grave problems the Kennedy Administration already faces.

Capital spending cannot increase until the general economic outlook brightens. As long as interest rates remain high, there is little possibility of the general outlook brightening to the extent necessary to spur capital expenditures and to foster economic growth. The cold war, moreover, limits the extent to which interest rates can be reduced. This, too, will be discussed in the section on the gold crisis.

HOUSING: Housing is another sector which is behaving poorly. Unlike past recessions, housing starts are not rising. They are well below their 1959 levels.

Interest is a major factor in housing costs. In New York City, for example, each 1% of interest is equivalent to $2.50 per month per room in rent. Thus, interest costs in a new four-room apartment financed by a 6% mortgage would by themselves come to $60 per month.

As long as interest rates remain high, the market for housing will be limited strictly to upper income groups. In past recessions interest rates were lowered significantly. Housing starts as a result rose rapidly, thereby mitigating the effects of the recession. In the present recession, mortgage interest rates have fallen slightly and housing starts have failed to rise. Unless mortgage rates fall far below their present levels, housing will not not be able to continue in its role as a recession "deterrent." In housing, like in other industries, the cold war, through its effect on the interest rates, is exacting its toll.

While the outlook for housing, capital expenditures, automobiles, steel and industrial production does not look very bright in the next few months, the outlook for unemployment is even worse.

UNEMPLOYMENT: Last October, officially-reported full time unemployment rose by 191,000. This was the largest rise for the month since the end of World War II. Normally, unemployment falls substantially in October. Only twice before, in October, 1949, when a coal strike was in progress, and in October, 1959, during the steel strike, did unemployment rise. In both instances, the rise was considerably less than in October, 1960.

October's full time unemployed numbered 3,600,000 and accounted for 6.4% of the labor force, the highest unemployment rate since December, 1958. October's high level is significant in that unemployment normally rises sharply between October and February. The Labor Dept. estimated that ordinary, seasonal lay-offs should raise unemployment to 5,300,000 in February, a level exceeded only once in the post-war years.

The Wall Street Journal (Nov. 8) indicated that lay-offs this year will be greater than normal. In a report on a survey of 200 large companies in the nation's major cities, it found that most companies intend to furlough more workers than usual this winter.

The unemployed may thus exceed 6,000,000 when Kennedy takes his oath of office. Whether or not unemployment will reach this record post-war level, it will still be high enough to require immediate attention from the President.

ARMS SPENDING WON'T WORK: What Kennedy does will to a large extent depend on the pressure labor can exert. At present, neither Kennedy's platform nor the attitude of many labor leaders give promise of a solution to the problems. As the economic pinch begins to be felt, however, more and more labor leaders may begin to see that the solution which Kennedy and they advocate —increasing military expenditures—not only will not work this time but will, in fact, aggravate the crisis.

A look at how the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations overcame the post-war recessions will explain why this is so.

These recessions were all fought by injecting purchasing power into the economy either through an increase in military spending or through an expansion of credit or a combination of both.

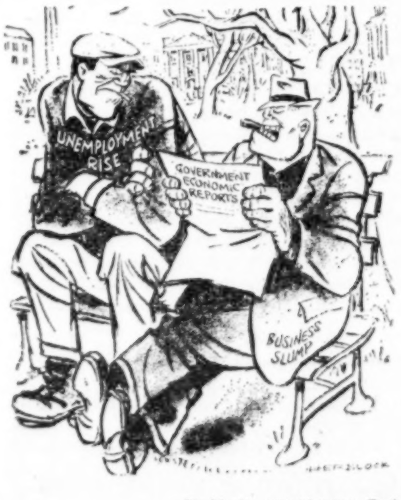
The first post-war recession began at the end of 1948 and hit bottom in the spring of 1949. Between the spring of 1949 and the summer of 1950, the recovery was sparked by increased demand for consumer goods and housing. Military expenditures not only did not increase but actually fell by a small amount.

By the time the Korean war broke out in June, 1950, gross national product and industrial production were already above their pre-recession levels and unemployment had dropped considerably from its recession peak, though it was still higher than before the recession. The economy thus recovered substantially without the benefit of the military.

KOREAN WAR EFFECT: The easing by the Federal Reserve Board of consumer credit restrictions and the lowering of interest rates increased the demand for cars and homes, the primary factors supporting the recovery up to the outbreak of the Korean war.

The Korean war, of course, changed the picture entirely. Military expenditures played the dominant role in determining the direction of the economy. Gross national product and industrial production soared to record levels while unemployment fell to post-war lows.

The boom generated by the Korean war lasted until the summer of 1953. There seems to be little doubt that the Korean war, while not starting the recovery from the 1948-49 recession, helped it along and assured its continuance for a prolonged period.



Herblock, Washington Post

"Guess what—we ain't imaginary characters after all."

The Korean war was able to perform this "economic miracle" only because the government financed it by going into debt rather than by raising taxes suffifiently to pay the war's total cost. By going into debt, the government poured more money into the economy than it took out, thus boosting total purchasing power substantially. If the government had adopted a pay-as-you-go policy, it would have reduced total purchasing power by the amount of taxes needed to balance the budget. The Korean war boom would never have gone as high or

(*Continued on Page 5*)

HAMMARSKJOLD JOINS WEST AGAINST LEGALITY

UN faces worst crisis yet in the Congo

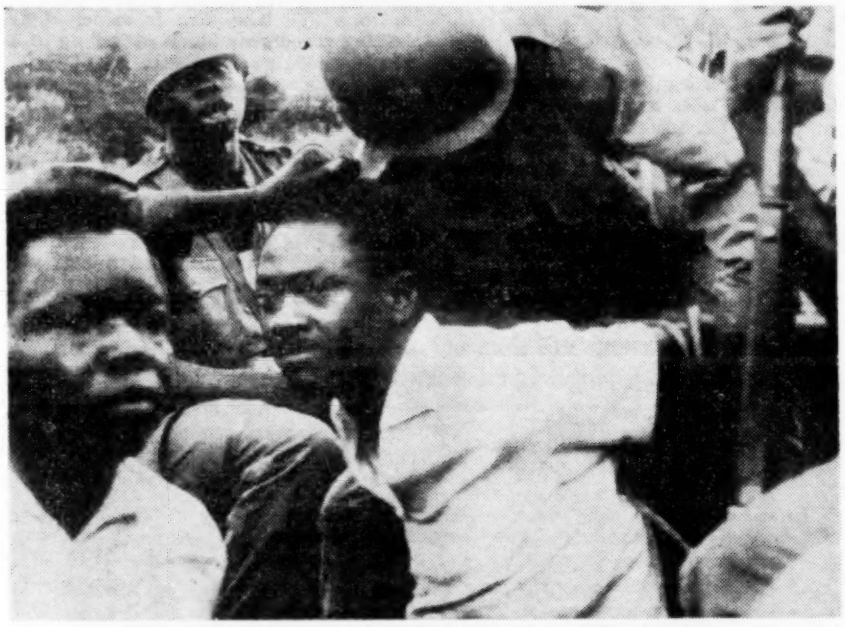
By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

WESTERN GREED and intrigue have borne their bitterest fruit in the Congo. On Dec. 1 the Congo's constitutional Premier Patrice Lumumba, fleeing from Leopoldville to his native Stanleyville, fell into the hands of the troops of U.S.-supported Congolese "strongman" Col. Joseph Mobutu.

UN special representative in the Congo Rajeshwar Dayal reported that the soldiers had inflicted "serious injuries" on Lumumba, who was being held incommunicado under "inhumane" conditions in a Thysville prison. Thysville is controlled by Mobutu forces led by Belgians. Mobutu has refused to allow UN or Intl. Red Cross representatives to visit Lumumba.

Most Afro-Asians demanded UN protection for Lumumba, and the disarming of Mobutu's troops. On Dec. 7 Soviet chief delegate Valerian Zorin convened the Security Council to consider "urgent measures" regarding the Congo.



THE END PRODUCT OF IMPERIALISM IN THE CONGO
Premier Lumumba, arms tied behind his back, roughed up by guards

A NEW STAGE: The ensuing debate made it clear that the Congo struggle had reached a new stage and the UN was facing an unprecedented crisis. Most Afro-Asians and the socialist nations differed sharply with the Western powers and Secretary General Hammarskjold on the function of the UN forces in the Congo.

Last July 14 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution following an appeal by the central government of the Congo, signed by Lumumba as Premier and Kasavubu as President. By the Congo's constitution, supreme power was vested in the popularly-elected Congolese parliament which had nominated the Cabinet, the Premier and the President. The President's orders had no force of law without parliament's approval.

The UN resolution authorized Hammarskjold "to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the [Congolese] government, to provide the government with such military assistance as may be necessary until, through the efforts of the Congolese government with UN technical assistance, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the government, to meet fully their tasks." The repeated reference to the Congolese government in the resolution emphasized the importance the Council attached to close cooperation between the UN forces and Lumumba.

THE BELGIANS RETURN: In later directives to the UN command—with 20,000 troops in the Congo—the Council asked it to "restore law and order . . . maintain the Congo's territorial integrity [and] obtain the rapid and total withdrawal of Belgian troops and other personnel from the Congo."

Belgium had flown 10,000 paratroops into the Congo after Congolese soldiers had turned against their Belgian officers and panicky Belgians were fleeing the country. But even after the UN forces arrival, Brussels found excuses to keep its troops in the Congo, while more Belgians poured in as "technicians" and administrative advisers.

On Sept. 14 Col. Mobutu usurped power through a military coup, announced he had "neutralized" Kasavubu and Lumumba, and had suspended the parliament. Kasavubu sanctioned Mobutu's actions, although he had no constitutional authority to do so.

THE DAYAL REPORT: Mobutu's star began to decline after Dayal arrived in the Congo. Kasavubu came to his aid by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Lumumba; but the UN command vetoed it. Dayal's Nov. 3 report to the UN seemed to give Mobutu the final push toward oblivion. But Mobutu was again saved again when the UN alloted Congo's seat to Kasavubu's delegation under terrific Western pressure. After Kasavubu returned home from the UN, Mobutu went on a rampage. He had already expelled the personnel of the embassies of socialist governments; now he forced the Ghanaian envoy to leave. His troops fought UN soldiers. He stood with folded arms as his troops beat the arrested Lumumba in full view of foreign correspondents.

THE UN DEBATE: During the Security Council debate the Western powers blamed Soviet intrigue and "communism" for the Congo's troubles and upheld the Lumumba arrest as legal. They endorsed Kasavubu's—which meant in effect Mobutu's—actions and denied that the UN forces had any authority "to interfere in the Congo's internal conflict" or to free Lumumba. Hammarskjold agreed.

The socialist countries and most Afro-Asians laid the blame for "the Congolese tragedy" on the "Belgian, U.S., British and French monopolies."

In a blistering address India's Krishna Menon wanted to know how Mobutu had usurped power when the UN forces were there "to provide" the Lumumba government "with military assitance [to] maintain law and order"; how Katanga could refuse unity with the rest of the Congo and the Belgians could encourage other separatist elements and arm them when UN forces had been directed "to maintain the Congo's territorial integrity"; how the parliament could be suspended and the Premier arrested and tortured when the UN forces had been instructed to work "in consultation" with these very constitutional entities.

AN INTERNAL STRUGGLE? Menon asked: How did it happen that the UN seemed to have no knowledge of the source of Mobutu's money and arms? He wondered why the UN forces were unable to furnish an account of Belgian troop strength in the Congo. New Delhi, he said, had knowledge of "a vast concentration of Belgian troops in the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, adjacent to the Congo" (GUARDIAN Nov. 7).

He said he could not take seriously the assertion that events in the Congo were not influenced from outside but was merely an internal struggle for power. He emphasized that by staying aloof while a popularly elected government was overthrown and most of its leading members were jailed—not by an internal revolution but by outside interference—the UN forces have in effect interfered in the internal affairs of the Congo.

TWO RESOLUTIONS: At GUARDIAN press time the Security Council was still debating two resolutions: (1) a Soviet proposal calling on the UN to obtain the release of Lumumba and other leaders of parliament, restore parliamentary rule in the Congo, disarm Mobutu's troops, send an Afro-Asian commission to investigate the source of Mobutu's arms and finances and remove all Belgian personnel from the Congo; (2) proposal by Argentina, Britain, Italy and the U.S. which merely asked Hammarskjold "to continue his efforts" to restore "law and order" and to insure "respect for the human dignity for all persons within the country."

As the Security Council debate continued, Yugoslavia, Ceylon, Indonesia, the UAR, Morocco, Malaya and Guinea ordered withdrawal of their contingents from the UN forces in the Congo. It was reported from Stanleyville that Lumumba followers were holding Belgians as hostages and threatening to kill some of them if the Permier were not freed.

A DEEP CONCERN: Impartial UN observers were seriously worried. New York **Times** UN correspondent Thomas Hamilton said (Dec. 4) that "the evidence indicates that the Belgians . . . are trying with might and main to get back" to power in the Congo. The **New Republic** (Dec. 5) noted that in the UN "the U.S. delegation openly directed the power play to seat" Kassavubu's delegation "and in Leopoldville, Americans . . . freely discussed their contributions to the solidification of the conservative anti-Lumumba front in Congolese politics."

Even more disturbing was the uncertainty many Afro-Asians felt about Hammarskjold's impartiality. They have noted his failure to support the report of his own personal representative Dayal and—most importantly—to take some action on the basis of the charges in the report. In the face of the new events, Hammarskjold's appeal to the illegal Mobutu military dictatorship to observe due process of law seemed a farcical action.

Kennedy and crisis

(Continued from Page 4)

lasted as long as it did.

KENNEDY'S CHOICE: This is an important point to stress. Military expenditures by themselves do not increase total purchasing power. Only military expenditures which bring about budgetary deficits can raise total demand. If Kennedy wants to end the present recession by raising war spending, he will be able to do this only by going deeper into debt.

The balance-of-payments deficit, as will be shown later, will prevent him from increasing the government debt to any significant degree. Increased military spending will therefore merely shift purchasing power from a civilian product, like automobiles, to the missile industry. Since the missile industry is highly mechanized and employs relatively little labor, such a shift will increase, rather than decrease, unemployment.

When the Korean war ended in July, 1953, the Eisenhower Administration cut back military expenditures. This cutback helped bring on the 1953-1954 recession. Military expenditures fell $9 billion in this period while gross national product dropped $9.9 billion.

The Republicans fought this particular recession by lowering interest rates and easing credit terms rather than by increasing military expenditures. Consumer expenditures zoomed while military outlays just inched along.

Between the spring of 1954, when business activity was at its low point, and the summer of 1957, when the recovery had reached its peak, gross national product increased by $89 billions. Of this sum, $52 billions was due to increased consumer spending and only $3 billion to increased military spending, which was $5.6 billion below its pre-recession level.

THE CONTRAST: During the Korean war in contrast, gross national product went up by $94 billion. Of this amount, only $43 billion was due to increased consumption while $39 billion was the result of increased military outlays.

When the 1957-1958 recession came along, the government again relied chiefly on low interest rates and easier credit policies as its main weapons. Between the winter of 1958, the low point of the recession, and the spring of 1960, the high point of the recovery, gross national product increased by $74 billion. Of this amount, $42 billion came from increased consumer expenditures and less than $1 billion from larger military outlays.

The three post-war recessions were thus essentially overcome by extending credit through lowering interest costs. In only one of those recessions, the first, did military expenditures play any significant role, and then only after recovery was well under way. Military expenditures, furthermore, were effective as an anti-recession device only insofar as they raised the government debt.

While these methods worked in the past, the Kennedy Administration will not be able to use them effectively today. This country's huge payments deficit, the end-product of 15 years of cold war, will tie the new President's hands.

NEXT WEEK: The gold crisis.

Who pays the cold war piper?

The things you read in the GUARDIAN—like Ed Sears' analysis of the American economy, (pages 1, 4 and 5) make the GUARDIAN a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a full year.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY .... ZONE ...... STATE ....

SUB SENT BY ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St. New York 9, N.Y.

WHAT THE RETURNS REALLY SHOW:

Left made big gains in Japanese election

By John Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

AFTER A YEAR of mass demonstrations, strikes and riots, accompanied by the Hagerty incident, the cancellation of the Eisenhower visit, the fall of the Kishi Cabinet and the assassination of Socialist chairman Inejiro Asanuma, the Japanese went quietly to the polls on Nov. 20.

With one-fourth of the electorate abstaining, the people voted in a new Lower House certain to elect Kishi's heir, Hayato Ikeda, as Prime Minister. Ikeda, in turn, will form a Cabinet which will perpetuate the very policies which caused such an unprecedented outpouring of public resentment.

Is this the "inscrutable oriental mind" at work, or were the American newspapers telling the truth when they said that the recent disturbances were the work of only a tiny minority of Japanese, led by reds and subsidized by the "international conspiracy"?

Prime Minister Ikeda called the victory of his Liberal Democratic Party a vindication of the U.S.-Japan Military alliance and a popular rejection of neutrality in the cold war. Washington also welcomed the results (predicted by all parties here) as "evidence that the majority of the people in Japan support their government's policy of cooperation with the nations of the Free World."

SPECIAL FACTORS: The fact that foreign policy was a major issue and that the voters were given a choice between two diametrically opposed policies lends plausibility to these assertions. But such a simple explanation can be accepted only by overlooking the fundamental nature of Japan's politico-economic system and the special character of the election.

The prevailing neutralism and anti-militarism of the Japanese is not seriously questioned. However, when neutrality and peaceful coexistence are part of a package deal including a radical change in the economic system and the threatened loss of the country's vital position in the U.S. market, other considerations take precedence. No one anticipated a socialist victory; instead, Japan's attention was focused on the relative gains or losses of the conservative, pro-U.S., pro-militarist forces and the neutralist opposition.

An analysis shows that the conservatives, despite their enormous advantage in funds, mass-media support and the rural vote, suffered a set-back, while the Socialists and Communists made gains which alarmed the big-business backers of Liberal Democratic Party.

BALANCE OF FORCES: The Tories won 296 seats in the Lower House, an increase of 13. The Socialists won only 145 seats but this is an increase of 23. The Communist Party, under strong attack from two of the three major parties, and shorn of official support from the big trade unions, increased its representation from one to three.

Both the Liberal-Democrats and Socialists made most of their gains at the expense of the fence-straddling Democratic Socialist Party, whose strength dwindled from 40 seats to 17. This party, formed last year by a splinter group of right-wing Socialists led by Suehiro Nishio, had been counted on by the Tories to force the progressives to swing rightward. The defeat of Nishio's party was regarded as a disaster by the conservatives.

Another disappointment was their failure to win the two-thirds majority necessary to amend the Constitution to permit full rearmament and adoption of reactionary domestic measures. This was regarded as one of the most important achievements of the progressive opposition parties.

Among significant results was the failure of the Tories to make any real advance, and the success of the Socialists in recovering most of the strength lost through the Nishio split. The fact that the middle-of-the-road Democratic Socialists avoided a clear stand on the Security Treaty and neutralism signifies that, of those Japanese ready to consider socialism in any form, the overwhelming majority repudiate the Kishi-Ikeda foreign policy.

THE NUMERICAL VOTE: The truth of the "magnitude" of the conservative victory can be seen from the returns. The Liberal Democrats won only 57.6% of the popular vote, as compared to 57.8% in 1958. The Socialists and Democratic Socialists, who as one party won 32.9% of the popular vote in 1958, increased their combined percentage to 35.4% in 1960. The addition of the Communist vote brings the opposition to 39.2% of the total. (Independents, mostly of conservative hue, make up the balance.) Numerically, the Tories lost 270,000 votes as compared to 1958, while the opposition gained by 1,400,000.

The election continued a steady trend: the Socialist forces are gaining slowly while the conservatives, despite intensified efforts, stand still or regress. An editorial in the conservative **Mainichi** commented: "It is a matter of simple mathematics that should the political trend proceed as in past elections, the progressive camp may someday, perhaps in ten years, take over the reins of government. According to the same calculation, the conservative party would fail to win more than 50% of the total effective votes in four or five years time . . . We call on Tory leaders not to be too proud of their victory."

The triumph so heartening to Washington has split Japan, at a point just to the right of center, into two antagonistic camps with almost no middle ground. On one side are those unprepared to accept a socialist program but who may favor neutralism; on the other are those quite sure they want both socialism and peaceful coexistence. With economic stability this balance of strength may be maintained, but a severe recession could swing 10% of the voters toward the Socialist side to change the whole picture.

ROSY PROMISE: This possibility may have prompted Ikeda to launch his theoretically dubious program of "doubling the national income in ten years" by maintaining an annual growth-rate of at least 9%. The plan is criticized by leading economists but is appealing to a people emerging from grinding poverty.

But more significant is the deep split between the rural and urban populations. The land reform achieved by the American occupation virtually eliminated the revolutionary spirit from agricultural areas. Of about 40,000,000 employed persons, nearly two-thirds are employed in farming, forestry and fishery work. Although most of them are as poor as city people, the farmers are better off than under the old landlord system. And they retain a vestigial feudalism in their social organization, so that the leading families in the villages wield great authority and not a little economic power. The farmers can vote as they please, but it is wiser to vote as the head man says.

It is in rural areas that the Liberal Democrats have their most formidable organization, almost to the exclusion of the opposition. But, significantly, the Socialists this year made gains not only in the cities but in rural areas where they had never succeeded before.

OUTMODED SYSTEM: The Tories received only 57% of the popular vote but won 63% of the Diet seats. The discrepancy is due to a 15-year-old system of representation: during those 15 years city populations steadily grew while rural populations gradually decreased.

Under this anachronistic system, one Socialist lost in Tokyo with 78,000 votes, while rural Tories won with as few as 30,000. Since most Socialists and Communists are city people, their advance against such discrimination is more significant than the number of successful candidates would indicate.

Another factor is the comparatively small number of organized workers in proportion to the total labor force. Only 45% of the workers are employed by companies, while 24% are self-employed and another 31% are unpaid family workers. Thus, less than half the employed persons are even susceptible to organization and recruitment into the progressive movement. Of these, a high percentage work in small enterprises, isolated from the main current of labor and political activity.

TIME BOMB: A fascinating aspect of Ikeda's "double the income" plan is that it would need a much larger industrial labor force; he has actually predicted the transfer of one-third of the agricultural population to industrial pursuits. Even if his plan should succeed only partially, it would create enough newly-organized proletarians to put the progressives over the top. One means of averting this danger was the buildup of the Democratic Socialist Party, which has substantial backing from business circles. In a television debate with opposition party leaders, Ikeda went so far as to solicit support for the Democratic Socialists. This may have been the kiss of death for Nishio. At any rate, the collapse of the center socialists leaves Ikeda with a time-bomb ticking under his own party, which would have difficulty surviving the shift of population required by his economic plan.

Also, the Democratic Socialist Party was seen as the political arm of the right-wing labor movement represented by the Zenro federation, with 1,000,000 members, whose growth will now be hampered. The defeat of Nishio's party was mourned by big-business leaders of the union-busting Japan Federation of Employers Association (Nikkeiren); they had counted on the Democratic Socialists and Zenro to roll back Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions), whose 3,500,000 members form the backbone of the Socialist Party. Another crusher was the upsurge of the Communists, who countered Ikeda's income-doubling plan with their own membership-doubling plan. Party membership has increased more than 25% already, largely as a result of the anti-treaty campaigns.

BIG MONEY: With all other factors weighed in the balance, it may be money which tips the scales consistently in favor of the Liberal Democrats. The clique of former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, which includes his proteges Ikeda, Kishi and Kishi's brother Eisaku Sato, is most strongly backed by the Japanese **zaibatsu** and also most favored by U.S. big business circles.

The Ikeda, Kishi and Sato factions are strongest in the Tory party because they command the largest contributions. The price of a Liberal-Democratic seat in the Diet this year was said to average $55,000 in campaign expenditures as compared to $47,000 last year. But some candidates are said to have spent as much as $200,000, although the legal limit on expenditures is less than $3,000 in most constituencies.

Ikeda is supported by a club known as Kochi-Kai, composed of top business leaders, which contributed (according to official figures) more than $300,000 in the first half of 1960 alone. This is more than the annual income of the entire Socialist Party. It is widely rumored that Ikeda's election to the Presidency of the Party, a post which ensures election to the Prime Ministry, cost his backers more than $1,000,000. But this is small change compared to the total income of the Party; political commentators say that expenditures for the recent elections were $10,000,000 or more. As usual, there were thousands of arrests this year for violations of the election laws, but the major offense, the drowning of the public will under floods of money, goes unpunished.

ORDERLY EVOLUTION: There was no evidence of U.S. intervention in the election, other than propaganda and veiled threats from Washington and the press. But the most generous contributors to the Tory war chest are those companies and industries most beholden to the U.S. for loans, capital and other economic boons. America's growing stake in Japan, not to mention strategic considerations, will incline U.S. enterprise to share the burden (directly or indirectly) as the Socialist advance raises the costs of keeping conservative governments in power in Japan.

During the great anti-treaty, anti-Kishi demonstrations, there were many in Japan and elsewhere who thought that Der Tag was at hand. The results of the recent election were discouraging to impatient revolutionaries, and were seized upon by conservatives to prove that the Japanese are faithful allies in the anti-communist crusade. But viewed objectively, the "popular victory" of the Tories is only one consistent step in an orderly evolution toward a new political and economic order for Japan.

AS POLICE TRIED TO HOLD BACK TOKYO DEMONSTRATORS IN OCTOBER
The election results showed a continuing trend toward socialism

CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S FIRST DISPATCH FROM HAVANA

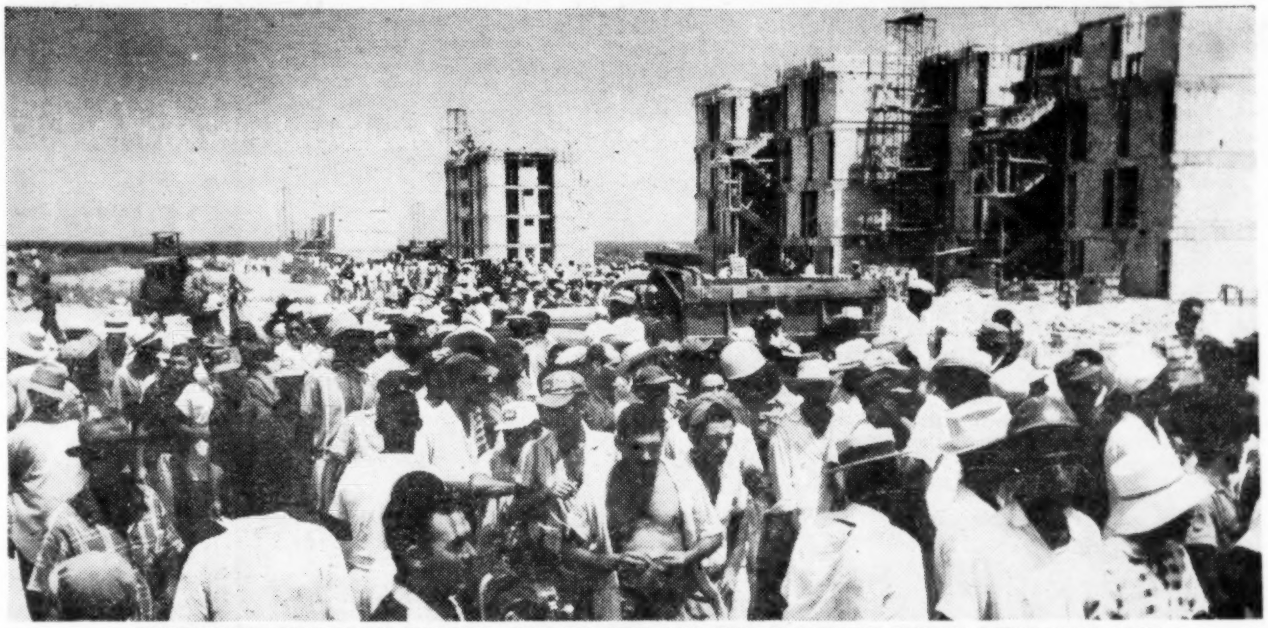
'I have seen it in China, in Africa . . . now here'

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

SO I GET OFF the plane and it says in lights, clear across the airport building: "Free Territory of America" . . . My first duty on arrival must be to record the correct treatment afforded by Franco Spain to a transit passenger through Madrid. While our Cubana jet-prop stood on Franco's domain the hostess was already passing out the Havana daily **Revolución**—a paper which it would be high understatement to describe as anti-Franco. After the burlesque show staged three days before at Idlewild under the banners of Liberty, any comment would be indecorous.

To be back on American soil, in a little country whose people have shaken off the parasites and stood up—this is a thrill hard to convey. The gay confident Cubans teeming in these streets, roaring approval of their young leaders—with rarely a cop in sight—make it utterly clear that Cuba is now theirs and they will defend their sovereignty to the death. I have seen it in China, and in Africa, and now here—and sadly I wonder how long the U.S. will remain blind to so simple a thing . . . I recall the remark by the pleasant, alert physician from California on my first (abortive) trans-ocean flight last week when I mentioned my destination: "I just don't like any sort of dictators." Thus the verdict on Fidel Castro, who has put in the people's hands tools to build a happy life and weapons to defend it, by an American "liberal" who probably never uttered a word about the Batista nightmare . . .



ACROSS THE BAY FROM HAVANA: THE PEOPLE AND THE PLACES IN WHICH THEY WILL LIVE

Everywhere new schools, new housing for workers, and everywhere childrens' happy faces

WHAT IS SO STRANGE at first is crossing the ocean to see a revolution and finding oneself amid such luxury: the absurd conspicuous-waste autos streaming along, the preposterously lush hotels, country clubs, office and apartment skyscrapers which the parasite regime bequeathed to a starving, pillaged people—perhaps the world's most fantastic monument to corruption. Here thousands of fat-bankrolled Yanquis used to sip daiquiris by sun-drenched swimming-pools, while the mass of Cubans starved, prostituted themselves and were tortured for any whisper of protest. Cuban hospitality hasn't changed toward guests who know how guests should behave, and prices are heavily slashed; but the playgrounds that haven't been taken over for Cuban tourists and Cuban peasant-family students are almost empty of Yanquis now.

The tourist slump is serious for the economy, but as the Cubans break out of Washington's suffocating embrace they are beginning to open up new doors. They are realizing that the world has become very small and that it is full of potential new friends. It may not be so long before Havana emerges as the **world** crossroads of the Western hemisphere.

While U.S. airlines still skirt gingerly around the borders of "totalitarianism," Cubana de Aviación is starting scheduled curtain-piercing flights between here and Prague. At Christmas a Soviet tanker will bring the first wave in a flood of tourists from the U.S.S.R., and in 1961 Cubans will be flocking the other way on low-priced tours of the socialist countries. From China, which is making Cuba a $70 million interest-free loan, technicians will soon arrive with equipment for 25 factories. Economically stagnant Canada decides (and one hopes will withstand U.S. intimidations) to step up Cuban trade.

Cuba grasps the hand of socialist Vietnam, with saludos for Ho Chi Minh's guerrilleros who did the Fidel job there, as cries of "Cuba Si, Yanquis No" greet banker-guerrillero Che Guevara in socialist Korea. In Havana's historic harbor dominated by Batista's huge white statue Soviet ships now unload oil, canned onions and garlic, Japanese ships bring toys—and a Chilean ship brings the most honored guest since Jean-Paul Sartre, the great American poet Neruda . . .

NEWSPAPER-READING here stops being a chore for the first time in years. The better papers combine positive selection and honest treatment of news with horribly frank reminders that revolutionary Cuba knows the score and isn't playing darts. If any movie star has been caught in the wrong bedroom since I landed, I don't know about it. (I could buy U.S. papers but haven't bothered.)

Spotlights are on the Congo, Laos, Algeria, Venezuela, the UAR, the UN and (how could it be otherwise?) New Orleans, but overwhelmingly on domestic developments affecting the whole public's future such as most papers in capitalist lands deem too "boring" to print. Serving admirably as editorials are leaders' statements which really say something and invite and get discussion, such as land-reform chief Nuñez Jimenez' "frank talk about Franco" recalling how a million deaths and 20 years of terror and decay followed the Spanish republic's failure to shoot a few rebel generals. Instantly one feels oneself to be in a country whose leaders want the people to know what's being done and why, and to participate in decisions.

A LONG REPORT on the U.S.S.R. by just-returned **Revolución** editor Carlos Franqui—to an audience peppering him with questions—suggests that the benefit of impact between these two peoples will not be one-sided. Franqui reports glumly on Soviet painting and architecture, the climate, the coffee, the "gold - type yellow" subway decoration motif, and the constant pressure to consume vodka. (When the Cuban visitors mentioned the government anti - vodka campaign, the Russian hosts replied: "Let's drink to the campaign!")

Aspects that seemed odd till you got used to them, he said, were women pressing flowers on you at airports ("here men give them to women"); the lack of night life (in Moscow but not in Prague); shop windows containing "a Bible, a red flag and some consumer product"; and the rigid moral attitudes (although many Soviet girls "asked if Fidel was married and similar questions to which we have got used in other parts of the world").

What most impressed the Cubans in the Soviet Union were the universal concern for children, the "football fanaticism just like our own," the self-criticism and willingness to show less successful enterprises, and the absence of "the slightest warlike atmosphere anywhere." In contrast to the U.S. when they were there for the recent UN Assembly, they never saw anybody armed, any violence or petty squabbles or even signs of tension. Everyone was a fervent peacemonger, yet each man, woman and child was ready to fight if Cuba were attacked. Fidel Castro was "the second most popular man after Khrushchev" with the Russians, and "the whole country was talking about his UN speech." Franqui stressed that with all the enthusiasm for Cuba, nobody ever asked whether any of the visitors was Communist or whether Cuba was.

CULTURALLY, the first impression in Cuba is of widely-opened windows. While the emigre Radio Swan yells from its Honduran island that press freedom has been murdered, in fact the newspapers are now for the first time compelled to stand on their own feet or die from lack of support. Under Batista huge subsidies were paid to put over government lies; nobody knew how many papers were sold and how many distributed in bundles, and many dailies were mere front operations for such activities as lotteries and black-marketing of duty-free newsprint. No subsidies are now paid, and smaller revolutionary papers keep going with volunteer staffs who do two jobs and get paid for the other one.

The absurdly magnificent plants of some now-defunct papers are being used for publishing the cream of world literature and current books, in big low-priced paperback editions. Some of these books, displayed on nearly every street corner, sell as many as 150,000 copies in a week. Current best-sellers include Sartre's report on Cuba and I. F. Stone's **Secret History of the Korean War.**

Pornography has disappeared, but short of that the range in every cultural field seems unrestricted. Theaters offer the Mexican national ballet and—at 25c a seat with a free copy of the text to each customer—**Death of a Salesman.** Movies available as I write include **Lenin in October, Can Can,** Shakespeare, the latest Monroe and Bardot, Garbo in **Anna Karenina,** Cinerama, Gorky's **Mother, La Strada, The Grand Illusion** and **The Wages of Fear.** Since I arrived there have been people's art and "Bible Illustrated by Children" exhibits and a festival performance for Chekhov's centenary. **Revolución** publishes a special supplement of new authors' stories and poems—and exhorts the newcomers to deeper understanding of "what separates them from the present generation of writers: a revolution."

PICKED AT RANDOM from a whirl of impressions in the first 48 hours:

- A taxi driver telling me after a two minutes' talk: "I don't like Fidel much—I like elections so we can have a change when we're fed up with one lot."
- "Nationalized Sears" and other stores seething with Christmas shoppers, with **Combate** commenting: "Now that the revolution has given them arms, no one can prevent the people from enjoying themselves and they can be relaxed about it."
- "Festival of Cows" in the Capitol—the seat of Batista's mock-parliament turned into a pure-bred stock exhibit and fair which netted $200,000 to purchase cows for new cooperatives. A Fidelista's wry comment: "We think cows are more progressive than Congressmen."
- Business as usual at Catholic and American (U.S.) schools in the Beverly Hills-like country club suburb, with no supervision of what they teach;
- Everywhere new schools, new workers' housing, functional and beautiful, guarded by pleasantly tough youths with late-model automatic weapons—and everywhere the happy unafraid faces of children . . .
- A charming Public School youth "doing Cuba" for a London intellectual weekly: "I do wish they would point their guns more away from one."

JAMES ARONSON, Editor, The GUARDIAN

will speak in the following cities on his nationwide speaking tour marking the GUARDIAN's 12th Anniversary

CHICAGO, Fri., Sat., Jan. 20-21
(Details to be announced)

MINNEAPOLIS, Tues., Jan. 24
Andrews Hotel, 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO, Fri., Jan. 27,
California Hall, 8 p.m.

(See Calendar for details)

LOS ANGELES, Sat., Feb. 4
(Details to be announced)

DETROIT, Tues., Feb. 7
(Details to be announced)

SAVE THE DATES—
and tell your
friends about it!

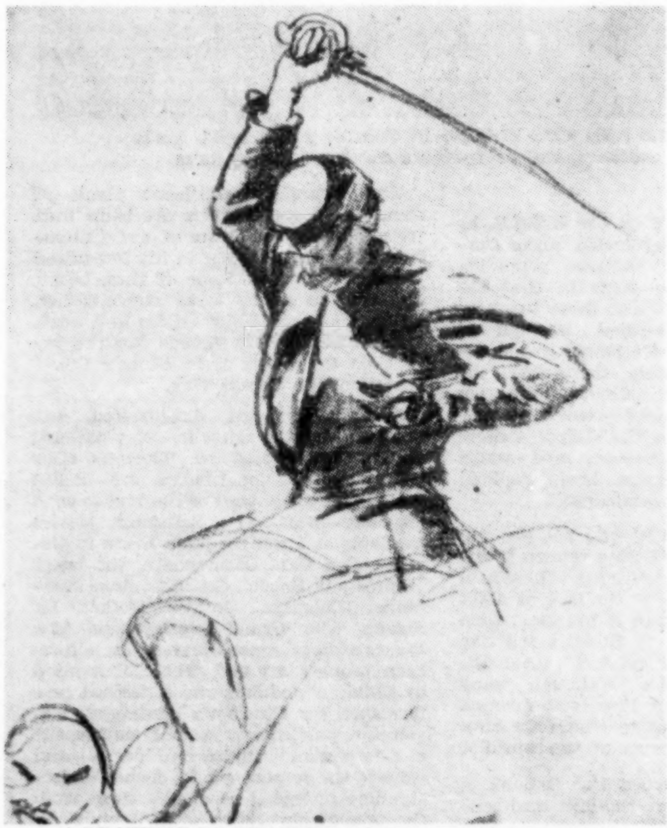
BOOKS

The Civil War Whitman saw

WALT WHITMAN was wrong when he wrote in **Specimen Days:** "The real war will never get in the books." But Whitman's war **has** got into a book*, thanks to the labors of Walter Lowenfels.

With an editorial assist by Nan Braymer, he has tracked down virtually every word written or spoken by Whitman on the subject, and has organized the most significant selections into a volume that helps give dignity and meaning to the current Centennial Celebration.

Walt Whitman's Civil War is aptly named. It presents not the war of the historians with their emphasis on the plans of the generals, the strategy of campaigns and the tactics of battles (though there are not entirely absent), but rather the war of one extraordinarily sensitive man—our greatest poet—as he saw it on the battlefield, behind the front, and especially in the army hospitals where he served as a volunteer "consolant," comrade and father to farmers' sons and "mechanics and workingmen of the cities."



A DRAWING BY WINSLOW HOMER FROM THE BOOK
There are 16 pages of drawings by the great artist

THE thoroughgoing democratic individual, Whitman believed, "sees greatness and health in being part of the mass . . . Would you have in yourself the divine, vast, general law? Then merge yourself in it."

Whitman obeyed his own command. He "merged" with the inarticulate mass of American youth, and with their families. To the sick and wounded he gave comfort and hope, supplying their small wants, small sums, pencil-stubs and writing-paper and stamps, a spoonful of jelly, an iced drink, a bit of tobacco; writing their letters home; or just sitting silent in the gloom of the ward at night, holding a suffering boy's hand.

He gave his time, he gave his health and strength; most of all he gave himself, his profound compassion and empathy ("I was that suffering boy"), his rugged fatherliness, friendliness and bonhomie, his inexpressible love.

WHITMAN KNEW that he got at least as much as he gave, got in the process of giving.

"What did I get? Well, I got the boys, for one thing—the boys, thousands of them . . . I got the boys; then I got **Leaves of Grass** . . . the consummated book (the last confirming word) . . ."

And what he got he passed on to us in his notes and letters.

"I took the first scrap of paper, the first doorstep, the first desk, and wrote, wrote, wrote . . . You want to catch the first spirit, to tally its birth. By writing at the instant, the very heartbeat of life is caught."

ALTHOUGH WHITMAN repeatedly decried war and its inhumanities ("O heavens! what scene is this? Is this indeed **humanity**—these butchers' shambles? . . . that slaughter-house!") he was never stampeded by even the worst atrocities into damning human nature as beastly or the natural world as ugly and inimical. His sympathy with the victims of war was enlarged and deepened by his conviction of the beauty and basic generosity of nature. He gropes to express this contradiction when, after describing a scene of sheer horror in the wake of a battle, he continues:

". . . while over all . . . amid the crack and crash and yelling sounds—the impalpable perfume of the woods, and yet the pungent stifling smoke; the radiance of the moon looking from the heaven at intervals, so placid; the sky so heavenly; the clear-obscure up there, those buoyant upper oceans; . . . the melancholy, draperied night above, around."

The bulk of the volume, however, does not stress the large impersonal picture of war; rather it is devoted to intimately personal vignettes of the individual soldier as Walt knew him in the wards, dying slowly or recovering slowly. The following (regretfully much reduced) is from a letter to the parents of one who did not survive:

"He was a quiet young man, behaved always so correct and decent, said little. I used to sit on the side of his bed. I said once, jokingly, 'You don't talk much, Erastus, you leave me to do all the talking.' He only answered quietly, 'I was never much of a talker.'

". . . I tried once to tell him amusing narratives, etc., but after I had talked a few minutes I saw that the effect was not good, and after that I never tried it again . . . He was oppressed for breath and with the heat, and I would fan him."

EDITING WHITMAN'S often prolix prose poses peculiar difficulties. One tends to underdo the task. On the whole Lowenfels has succeeded signally. But no Whitman buff can be expected to refrain from quarreling with the editor, and this reviewer is no exception.

My quarrel is with his handling of references. In a foreword Lowenfels announces that he will omit footnotes "to avoid interrupting Whitman's narrative." Still, in a book composed of hundreds of fragments, it must be made easy for the reader to identify the source of any one item, so that he may if he wishes look up the whole passage in its original context. Unfortunately, Lowenfels has made this practically impossible.

Take, for example, the excerpt quoted earlier on war as "butchers' shambles," in the chapter called "The Dense Brigades Press On." Is it from a letter? a newspaper article? or what? One hunts for the answer in the Notes toward the back of the book—and finds this:

"'The Dense Brigades Press On' is made up of paragraphs and passages in **Prose**; letters to Whitman's mother (Feinberg, published in Dresser); and manuscript material in Washington (collected and first published in Glicksberg)."

WHAT IS THIS, a double-crostic? I defy any reader to tell from this in which of these sources the particular passage is to be found. Why, in scholarship's name, couldn't there be a simple one-line footnote: "From **Specimen Days** in the volume **Prose Works**"? Such academic barbarism doesn't merely interrupt Whitman's narrative; it brings it to an exasperating stop.

I have elaborated my beef in the hope that this truly grand book will flourish and that in the course of succeeding editions the editors will have a chance to reorder their chaotic references.

Walt Whitman's Civil War is appropriately illustrated by a generous sampling of Winslow Homer's drawings — also made "at the instant."

Philip Stevenson

---

* *WALT WHITMAN'S CIVIL WAR, compiled and edited by Walter Lowenfels; with 16 pages of Civil War drawings by Winslow Homer. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 352 pp. $5.*

ADVERTISEMENT

"That new bugaboo, CASTROISM . . ."

"It is only when popular revolt breaks out that the U.S. takes a hand, and then only to spread alarm about the dangers of Communism, and now of that new bugaboo, Castroism . . . Is it any wonder that Castro is a hero in Latin America, and that we appear to be the main obstacle to aspirations for a more decent life below the border? Yankee imperialism, to our shame, is not just a propaganda slogan . . . It is a reality."

The lines above, protesting President Eisenhower's reckless action in sending warships to patrol Central America waters on the pretext of preventing "Communist" invasion from revolutionary Cuba, are from an editorial (**I. F. Stone's Weekly,** Nov. 19) by one of Washington's ablest reporters. Nor is he alone in raising his voice against the pattern of aggression that seeks to wreck the Cuban Revolution, and with it the example that imperils a multi-billion-dollar investment empire in Latin America.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee,

organized by a group of distinguished American intellectuals to combat a clear and present danger to our own United States, is waging a determined battle to present the truth about revolutionary Cuba . . . the facts about U.S.-Cuban relations, that alone can prevent a military miscalculation that might touch off a global war. Prominent members include Columbia University sociologist C. Wright Mills, who writes in his powerful new book LISTEN, YANKEE*—

> "No matter what you may think of it, no matter what I think of it—Cuba's voice is a voice that must be heard in the United States of America. It must be heard because the United States is too powerful, its responsibilities to the world and to itself are too great, for its people not to be able to listen to every voice of the hungry world.
>
> "If we do not listen to them, if we do not hear them well, we face all the perils of ignorance—and with these, the perils of disastrous mistakes."

Will you help to publish the facts and views that are essential to an informed U.S. public? The efforts of **The Fair Play for Cuba Committee,** with its chapters in the principal cities of this country and **Student Council** chapters on forty college campuses, could prevent a "disastrous mistake" that would do irreparable damage not only to what advertising men like to call the "image" of the United States, but to ourselves, our country and the cause of world peace. But literature, books, meetings, organizational activities all cost money. The Committee urgently needs your cash contribution if it is to continue its vital work.

Will you help? ***Send your donation today to:***

Fair Play, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

*LISTEN, YANKEE may be obtained at your bookstore or, in Ballantine Books inexpensive pocket edition, by writing directly to FAIR PLAY at the above address; 50c. Also available: the complete English text of Fidel Castro's address to the UN General Assembly, one of the truly great historical documents of our time; 25c.

This advertisement is submitted and paid for as a public service by Lyle Stuart

500 PRINTS OF 'SMEAR' SOLD

Coast students spark drive against Un-Americans' film

CALIFORNIA STUDENTS have launched a nationwide protest against a film called "Operation Abolition," a patchwork "documentary" smearing students who demonstrated against House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearings in San Francisco last May. The film is now being circulated throughout the country to counteract a national drive for abolition of the Committee.

The **Reporter** magazine said Nov. 24 that 500 prints of the film at $100 each have been sold to large corporations and civic groups. The article said: "Although 'Operation Abolition' seems to be doing well at the box office, this unusual venture of the House Committee on Un-American Activities into moviemaking is not apt to win any prizes for accuracy."

"SOUNDS OF PROTEST": The students have issued a report detailing the film's distortions—such as changes in time sequence and commentary without supporting photographs. In addition, a University of California (Berkeley) political organization, SLATE, has issued a record, "Sounds of Protest," giving the student version of the demonstration. The record is available from SLATE, P.O. Box 893, Berkeley 1, Calif., for $2 each or 3 for $5.

During the San Francisco demonstrations the world's press printed shocked reactions to the brutal handling of students by police. Students were washed down San Francisco's court house steps with fire hoses and were clubbed into paddy wagons. The film's theme is that the demonstrations were communist-inspired and led and that students started violent riots.

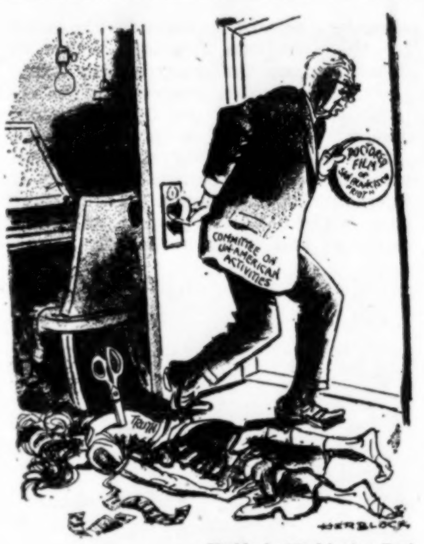
THE COMMENTATOR: The film was produced by HUAC from pieced-together film clips (out of sequence) which it subpenaed from television news departments. It is being distributed by a commercial distributor, but has no listing of credits. The commentary is by HUAC Chairman Francis E. Walter and commitee member Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio). The narrator is committee investigator Fulton Lewis III, who, along with William Wheeler, chief West Coast investigator for the committee, selected and subpenaed the footage. During a television appearance in August in Los Angeles, Wheeler admitted that the film contains "inaccuracies and distortions."

The Washington **Post** (Nov. 26) called it "a flagrant case of forgery by film" and said the film "makes a dirty joke of the Congressional investigating power."

ROOSEVELT WILL ACT: Protests against the film and against a distorted report on the San Francisco demonstrations by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover are part of a nationwide campaign to abolish the HUAC in which colleges across the country are participating. A petition campaign urging Congressmen to support Rep. James Roosevelt's (D-Calif.) call for abolition, scheduled for the opening day of Congress on Jan. 3, has been undertaken by student groups and by the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. A New York affiliate, the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, said it collected more than 1,500 signatures in a week on petitions to New York Congressmen. The New York group will hold a rally Dec. 27 at Carlton Terrace, 2633 Broadway, Manhattan, as a send-off for hundreds who will travel to Washington Jan. 2 to demonstrate support for Roosevelt's abolition resolution. Speakers will be Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, both of whom face possible imprisonment for invoking the First Amendment in refusing to answer Committee questions. Their cases now await a Supreme Court decision.

CALL FOR ACTION: "Everyone who opposes the Un-American Committee's hounding of dissenters, its un-American methods and its attacks on the Bill of Rights, should participate in the petition campaign, visits to local Congressmen and the trip to Washington," Sandra Rosenblum, secretary of the New York Council said. Petitions are available from the Council at 106 E. 208th St., New York, 67, telephone: OL 5-0252.

Among the national organizations which have called for abolition are: the American Civil Liberties Union, United Synagogues of America, Young Democratic Clubs of America, United Packinghouse Workers of America, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, American Jewish Congress, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Religious Freedom Committee, National Lawyer's Guild and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.


DOCTORED FILM OF SAN FRANCISCO RIOT
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
TRUTH
HERBLOCK

Herblock, Washington Post

Cutting-room floor

Joseph Kehoe, 49

JOSEPH F. KEHOE, secretary-treasurer of the independent American Communications Assn., died Dec. 5 of a heart ailment. His age was 49.

Kehoe served the union of radio and telegraph workers for 23 years as an organizer, director of organization and, for the last 16 years, as secretary-treasurer. He was one of the early organizers of the CIO of which ACA was a member. The union was forced out of the CIO in 1949 in a witch hunt.

Kehoe is survived by his widow, Eduarda; two daughters, Kathleen and Elena; a brother and three sisters. Mrs. Kehoe lives at 2053 Benson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

WITH HEART SERENE

Dr. Uphaus freed after serving year; re-jailing possible

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS was released from a New Hampshire jail Dec. 11, two days short of a year after he was imprisoned for refusing to turn over the guest list of World Fellowship summer camp to State Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman for a witch hunt.

Uphaus was imprisoned Dec. 14, 1959, after the Supreme Court refused to uphold his right under the First Amendment to withhold the list. The Court, on Nov. 14, again dismissed Uphaus' appeal by a vote of 6 to 3. Uphaus' imprisonment stirred a world wide protest, including many prominent individuals and newspapers in the U.S.

Wyman subpenaed Uphaus in 1954 during a local investigation of "subversive" activity. Uphaus, executive director of World Fellowship, refused to turn over the list as a matter of conscience and religious principles. Wyman started a contempt action which went through the state courts and finally to the U.S. Supreme Court.

NO ILL WILL: Uphaus was sentenced to a year in jail or such prior time as he purged himself of contempt. Uphaus said he would never turn over the names. Shortly before he was to be released, Wyman appealed to New Hampshire Superior Court Judge George R. Grant Jr. to keep Uphaus in jail until he gave the names. Grant refused and approved Uphaus' request to be released two days early.

On his release, Uphaus said that he left jail with "serenity and peace in my heart. First, because I bear no ill will toward anyone, and second, because I still believe I did the only thing that I could have honorably done, given my Christian philosophy of life and my loyalty to our Bill of Rights."

In a dissent to the Nov. 14 ruling (see GUARDIAN, Dec. 12), Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black warned that "it is entirely possible that Dr. Uphaus will be subjected to new questioning and forced into a new 'contempt' as soon as he serves out this year's imprisonment."

NEW YORK

Call Me
HARRIS

When Admiral Dewey was riding high Mr. Dooley used to claim him as his long lost cousin, George. Now that we all know where President-elect Kennedy buys his suits —H. Harris & Co.—temptation is very strong (People do call Harry Harris, but only on the other side of town).

Anyway it's good to know that our Pres.-to-be is setting a patriotic example during the gold shortage by buying from Uncle Sam. You too can hold on to most of your own gold reserves by buying your Holiday glad rags ($50 to $75 suits at $10 to $15) at

HARRY'S CLOTHES
"The Corner Shop"
SPECIAL BUYS FOR THE HOLIDAY
104 3rd Av. at 13th St.
GR 5-9183 Open Till 7 P.M.

childplay
Center of creative toys & crafts
203 W. 14th St. (7th Ave.)
CH 3-8807
Phone orders accepted—
We mail anywhere.

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3. (11th St.)

CITY CAMERA EXCHANGE
11 John St., N.Y.C.
(Between Broadway & Nassau)
PHONE: DI 9-2956
SPECIAL SALE—DeJur Electric Eye custom Electra with 3 f1.8 lenses and built-in filters. Reg. $169 95! Special while they last, just $84.95!

IN MEMORIAM

The family and friends
of
Dr. Benjamin Antin
deeply mourn his passing
December 5, 1960
Yorktown Heights, N.Y.

SELL THE GUARDIAN!
Introductory sub:
$1 for 13 weeks

NEW YORK

Gala New Year Celebration Dinner
Honoring
ROCKWELL KENT
FRIDAY JANUARY 6 7 O'CLOCK
Belmont Plaza Hotel
Couvert $7 Reservations Limited
MAIL TO
NATL. COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
114 East 32nd St., N.Y.C. MU 3-2080

RESORTS

Camp Kinderland
REGISTRATION NOW OPEN FOR 1961
- New Tennis & Basketball Court Being Built On Site of Old Social Hall
- Outdoor Amphitheater Being Rebuilt
- New Animal Farm and Nature Shack

1961 RATES — 8 WEEKS $450
4 WEEKS $240
SPECIAL NOTICE FOR 1960 CAMPERS ONLY!
If you register before Feb. 5th (Camp Reunion Date)
You may pay last year's rate — Register NOW!
Call Camp Office for Information—AL 5-6283

RESORTS

Arrowhead Lodge
For
CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S
Like exciting entertainment? Dancing social, folk and square? Painting? Classes? Skating, skiing (nearby) all winter sports and in-door fun? Join us for all these and more. Relaxed & informal. Hunters invited.
ELLENVILLE 502 DE 2-4578

Xmas Holiday
Why can't life always be like this! Delightfully congenial guests, delicious food (and not a dish to dry!). Ice skating (new rink), sledding (skiing nearby), unusual entertainment, folk & sq. dancing, fun & merriment all week, day camp, nite patrol. — Reserve early!
CHAITS HOTEL
Accord 1 N.Y., Kerhonkson 3758

ALLABEN HOTEL
501 Monmouth Ave. Lakewood, N.J.
Modern, Intimate, Entertainment, Free Ice Skating, Outdoor Shuffleboard, Folk & Modern Dancing with Allaben Ensemble. Jewish-American Cuisine. Make your CHRISTMAS and NEW YEAR' Reservations Early!
Sarena Schwartz
Tel. FO 3-1222 and FO 3-9819

Civil defense story

(Continued from Page 1)

possible. In New York, 500 school children saw CD as more dangerous than JD. They protested the drills and some got into trouble with school officials. Fewer adults protested, but some sought a public hearing on the indoctrination of children.

ABOLISH THE DRILL: New York passed the day without serious dislocation. Some tourists lost their way because Times Square signs were changed to "Civil Defense Square," but residents took it in stride. The only casualties were the students who defied the drills. They face disciplinary action.

The day before the drill, Students for the Abolition of Civil Defense Drills distributed 10,000 leaflets at junior and senior high schools. The leaflets urged students to wear blue armbands as a sign of protest and to assemble in the lobbies to refuse to participate in the drill.

About 500 students showed up with armbands the next day, but most stayed in the drill. At the High School of Music and Art, about 50 students refused to join the drill. School officials told them that if they did not proceed to a "shelter," their names would be taken. No student moved. Their program cards were sent to the principal's office.

Protesters at the Bronx High School of Science were not as well organized Many wore armbands, but when they went to the appointed place to stage a protest and found few others, most joined the drill. Only four students refused to take shelter. They were summoned to the principal's office.

SEEK PUBLIC HEARING: James F. McQuillen, who is paid $11,700 a year as the Board of Education's civil defense director, was unperturbed by the student demonstrations. "The kids are just doing it because they consider it a lark," he said. "It's not intended to serve a serious purpose, just an opportunity to raise a little hell. It's all part of this stuff of abandoning nuclear tests."

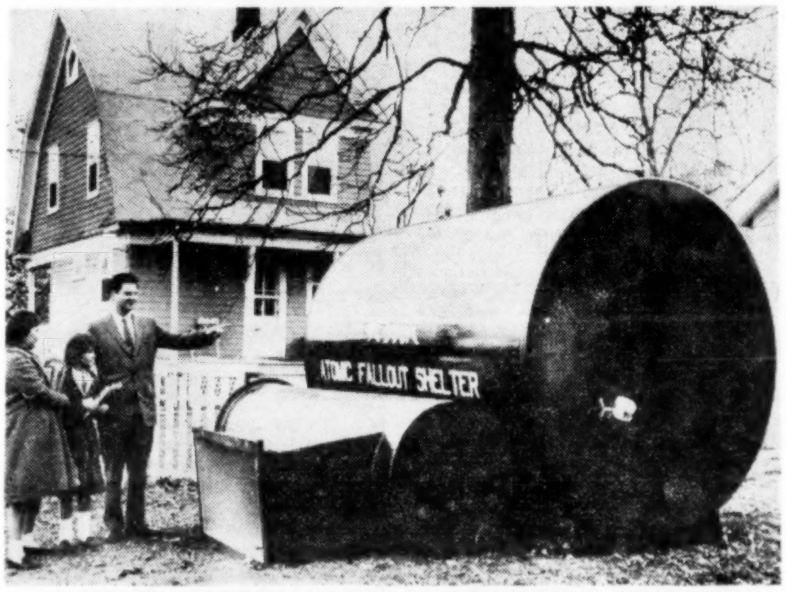
Veteran pacifist A. J. Muste led a delegation of parents from the Civil Defense Protest Committee to Board of Education headquarters to argue that the drills "teach children to expect war rather than how to prevent it and create psychological complications in young minds." McQuillen and Asst. Supt. Thomas F. Nevin insisted they were only following orders. But McQuillen denied that the drills have an adverse effect on children. "Kids take it in stride. To them it's just like a fire drill." he said.

The committee plans to petition for a public hearing. It argues that state law prescribes only one drill a year; additional drills are at the local board's discretion. The committee's offices are at 5 Beekman St., New York City.

PAIN IN THE EAR: The public was not asked to participate in the New York drill except to listen to the sirens from 11 a.m. to 11:09 a.m. to acquaint itself with the meaning of the signals. The three-minute straight blast of Alert at 11 meant, according to the CD manual: "Tune your radio to 640 or 1240 on your AM radio for directions. Do not use the telephone."

The three-minute intermission from 11:03 to 11:06 didn't mean anything. The three-minute warbling signal at 11:06 meant: "Take cover immediately in the best available refuge shelter and remain sheltered until advised to leave by Civil Defense authorities." There is no all clear signal.

For most New Yorkers the sirens signified a loud pain in the ear. Almost no one bothered to learn the meaning of the signals. They may never notice their lack because a report for the Army by the Operation Research Office of Johns Hopkins University in July found the CD siren system inadequate. The report also said that the Conelrad radio system, established to prevent enemy planes from navigating on commercial radio beacons, is obsolete in the era of intercontinental missiles. The report characterized the CD program as "rudimentary" and "often irrelevant."



GO-GETTER JOSEPH FIALA LOOKS TO THE FUTURE IN CONNECTICUT
He'll deliver a shelter like this to your back yard for only $1,800.

SUPPRESSION FAILS: The Army kept the report secret for months in response to pressure from CD director Leo A. Hoegh. On Aug. 2, Hoegh wrote to Lt. Gen. A. G. Trudeau, head of Army research, that "it would be most unfortunate" if release of the report resulted "in embarrassment to the Army, to the Department of Defense or the OCDM [Office of Civil Defense Mobilization]."

The report was released on Nov. 25 after protest from Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Government Information subcommittee. Moss said: "To suppress public information because someone might be 'embarrassed' is a threat to the fabric of democratic self government."

By the time the report was released, Hoegh was ready with a new scheme to replace the sirens. It was a little black box housing a buzzer which would be plugged into electrical outlets in every home, office and factory in the country. The buzzer would sound only when the signal is given in CD headquarters.

GROTESQUE JOKE: Federal funds would supply the necessary generators, but Hoegh expected that Americans would be willing to pay $7.50 each for the buzzers. The buzzer is called NEAR, short for Natl. Emergency Alarm Repeater. It is made by the A. C. Sparkplug Division of General Motors.

Hoegh said he would ask Congress for $500,000 to "blanket" Michigan next year with buzzers. If the experiment works out, buzzers will replace sirens nationally.

Buzzers or sirens, civil defense is a grotesque joke. To suggest, as CD officials do, that it is possible to evacuate a city on signal is patently ridiculous to anyone who has tried to drive to the country on a warm Sunday.

The shelter program is an equal illusion. In 1959, a study by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy estimated that one-third of the population would be killed or injured by a 1,500-megaton attack. But the size of a possible attack was underestimated; the U.S.S.R. has a much greater nuclear capacity.

Dr. Harrison Brown and James Real in **Community of Fear**, a study prepared for the Fund for the Republic, said: "It seems likely that in our present state we could be destroyed as a nation, unable to recover, by an attack considerably less than 20,000 megatons."

CRUEL DECEPTION: No one pretends that persons in shelters in the area of blast could survive. Persons outside the blast area would have an outside chance to stay alive. But they would ascend to an evironment which would be radioactive for years. The air, food and water would be contaminated. If the atomic attack were combined with a gas attack, no one is likely to come out of the shelters.

Shelters could provide survival for those in rural areas, far from major cities or targets. Those who advocate shelters write off the urban population on the chance that the rural survivors will be able to rebuild the economy.

If few take civil defense seriously, almost no one laughs at it publicly. CD officials have wrapped themselves in the flag, capitalizing on the World War II respect for air raid wardens. To criticize them is to invite a charge of disloyalty.

But a few public figures have spoken out. New Jersey Gov. Robert Meyner last March called civil defense "a cruel deception." Maverick Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-O.) in the December issue of the **Progressive** called civil defense a "billion dollar boondoggle."

A GRAVY TRAIN: Young pictured civil defense as a gravy train for "hacks and defeated office-holders." He charged that CD officials had squandered more than $1,000,000,000 since 1951, as well as $100,000,000 in government surplus property turned over to local CD offices.

He said the Federal government spends $120,000 a day on civil defense and state and local agencies match the figure. Of this 60% goes for salaries and expenses. More than 40% of OCDM officials are paid better than $10,000 a year.

An investigation in Ohio revealed that "generators, typewriters, adding machines, aluminum pitchers and sundry other items" of government surplus donated to civil defense "somehow wound up in the homes of local civil defense directors, county commissioners, or other state and local employes."

Civil defense headquarters in Carpentersville, Ill., population, 12,000, was given $350,000 in government surplus property. This was more than the Chicago Board of Education received in a year.

In Athens, Ohio, CD officials built a 3,200-foot air strip at Ohio U. for $195,000. But the university does not own an airplane.

FOR DISBANDING: Young ripped at the "grand illusion" of civil defense and the "schizophrenia" of advocating evacuation and shelter programs simultaneously. "In Cleveland, Ohio," he said, "evacuation is preached. Residents are told to flee on highways toward a neighboring city—whose residents are told to flee toward Cleveland. In Buffalo, N. Y., the program, paradoxically, is to seek shelter—to hide. Do we run or hide, or both?"

Young rejected both systems. "The theory of evacuation in this missile age is not only silly but dangerous," he said. In light of missile-launching submarines "we would be lucky to have three minutes warning."

On the insufficiency of shelters, he said: "Significantly, in my own state of Ohio, I know of no civil defense official who himself has taken the trouble to build a shelter."

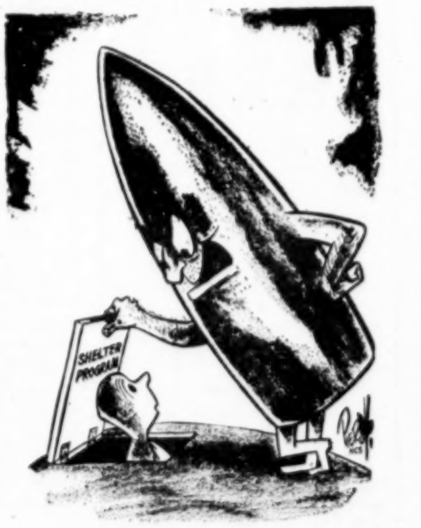
Young said he hoped that the Kennedy Administration would reappraise the situation and disband OCDM. For himself, he said:

"No civil defense program will adequately protect our citizenry should war strike. The survival of 180,000,000 Americans—indeed of all mankind—depends not on civil defense but on peace . . . on solid workable international agreements to disarm. . . . It is interesting to note that many of those who talk the loudest about civil defense talk the least about peace."

THE ULTIMATE: Despite the obvious idiocies, Brown and Real predicted that "the next phase of the 'arms race' will almost certainly involve great emphasis upon the area of civil defense." They foresaw that as the shelter program expanded larger bombs will be developed, capable of being delivered by missiles. They added:

"The new developments will cause people to burrow more deeply into the ground. Factories will be built in caves, as will apartment houses and stores. Eventually most human life will be underground. . . . Deep under the ground people will be relatively safe—at least until such time as we learn how to make explosives capable of pulverizing the earth to great depths."

Those who do not relish this future might write to President-elect Kennedy and Sen. Young.



Pierotti, New York Post
"What's the matter—no other ideas?"

LOS ANGELES

BOOKS ARE THE BEST HOLIDAY GIFTS!
GIFTS FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY
• Big Selection of Children's Books • Classic and Modern Books for Adults • Beautiful Holiday Greeting Cards by UNICEF-CORE-FOR—and others • Latest Folk Records
PROGRESSIVE BOOKSHOP
1806 W. 7th St.
Los Angeles 57, Calif.
Hours: 9:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. (Sundays closed)
Dec. 16 through Dec. 24: Open until 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS
WM. L. GOLTZ and Staff
6225 Wilshire Blvd.
Wilshire Medical Arts Bldg.
Street Floor
LOS ANGELES WEbster 5-1107
Between Fairfax & Crescent Hts.

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

CHICAGO

IN CHICAGO
Insurance—Every Kind
Professional Service
Plus Personal Interest
LEON KATZEN
330 S. Wells Street, Chicago
HArrison 7-5496

LAST MINUTE HOLIDAY GIFTS: USE THE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE. SEE P. 12

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

HEAR DR. WILLARD UPHAUS after a year in jail. SUN., DEC. 25, 10:30 a.m. Conservatory Auditorium (Hemenway nr. Boylston). Community Church program.

MINNEAPOLIS

JAMES ARONSON
Editor, The GUARDIAN
will speak in Minneapolis on
"**HOT NEWS** and the **COLD WAR**"
Tues., Jan. 24 7:30 p.m.
at the ANDREWS HOTEL
Come—And Bring Your Friends!
Admission 50c.

SAN FRANCISCO

GUARDIAN 12th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
with
James Aronson, Editor, The GUARDIAN speaking on **The American Press and World Crisis**
and
Paul Baran, Prof. of Economics, Stanford University, and author of **The Political Economy of Growth**, speaking on **A New New Deal?**
FRIDAY, JAN. 27 8 P.M.
CALIFORNIA HALL
Corner of Polk and Turk Sts.
Admission $1. Students 50c.
For Information call Margaret Driggs
SK 2-5988.

PHILADELPHIA

A CHRISTMAS MIRACLE
Freedom for Morton Sobell. Hear **Mrs. Helen Sobell** report on the events regarding the national appeal for freedom for Morton Sobell. Sunday, Dec. 18, at **The Christian Association, 3601 Locust St., PROGRAM:** From 2 p.m. specially assembled national exhibition, **America's Appeal for Morton Sobell.** From 3 p.m. Mrs. Helen Sobell. (Exhibit may be seen till 5 p.m.) Auspices Philadelphia Sobell Committee, 2708 West Sterner St. Phone BA 9-2426.

NEW YORK

FREEDOM GUILD PRESENTS
Annual Freedom Holiday Cabaret Dance Fri., Dec. 30, 9 p.m. until ? at Celebrity Club, 35 E. 125 St. Music by Celebrity Club Orchestra, guest artists. Advance adm. $2, at door $2.25. For reservations call IN 9-2141.

AN EXHIBIT
of the work of
CAPTAIN HUGH N. MULZAC, and WALTER L. HERRICK will be held at the **Hicks Street Gallery**, 48 Hicks St., Brooklyn Heights, from
Fri., Dec. 16 to Thurs., Jan. 5
HOURS: Tues. through Sun., 11 to 6.
Reception Sun., Dec. 18, 2 to 6 p.m.

Wed., Thurs., Fri., Dec. 21, 22, 23
A New Russian Dramatic Hit
"MY DAUGHTER SVETLANA"
A gripping story of life in Odessa
ALSO **"World of Electronics"** and **"USSR Today"**
American Theater, 235 E. 3rd St.
(Between Aves. B & C)

DRAMA CLUB
Classes for beginners. Interviews Wed. and Thurs. 7-9 p.m. Small fee. Studio 200, 1151 Bway., bet 26-27 Sts. Bill Reed.

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO - FIRE - HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

LECTURE Sun., Dec. 18
DR. OTTO NATHAN
associate of the late Dr. Albert Einstein, will speak on **Can There Be Economic Security in the Nuclear Age?**
8 P.M. SHARP—COME ON TIME!
Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Ave., Brighton Beach, Brooklyn.

WELCOME HOME RECEPTION
for
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
and MRS. JEAN RUBINSTEIN
Just returned from three months in Europe and the Soviet Union.
Tues., Dec. 27 — 5-7:30 p.m.
333 Central Park West, Apt. #71
at 93rd St. (96th St. IND Sub. Stop)
Contrib. $1.50 Incl. Buffet
Auspices: Indeps. & Socialists for Electoral Action.

Friday, Dec. 16th, 8 p.m.
"WHAT WAS THE OLD WEST LIKE? WAS IT ALL GUNSMOKE?"
Hear **Harold Preece**, distinguished Western historian, author of **Lone Star Man**, recently published, exciting book.
Autographing Reception Refreshments
ADMISSION FREE
N.Y. Intercultural Society, 108 West 45th St. Top Floor.

JEWISH CURRENTS PRESENTS
"An Afternoon with MARTHA SCHLAMME and HOWARD Da SILVA," Sun., Jan. 15, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. New program includes songs by Brecht-Weill, Blitzstein, Yiddish Labor Poets, Folk Songs of Many Lands, Sholem Aleichem's stories and humorous masterpiece, **The Correspondence Between Menahem Mendel & Shayne Shayndel**, which will be performed by Miss Schlamme and Mr. Da Silva. **Order tickets now: $4, $3.45, $2.50, $1.65 at JEWISH CURRENTS, Dept. G, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N.Y. WA 4-5740**

"VACATION IN CUBA" (Why not?)
Travel tips, music, color film, refreshments
SUN., DEC. 18, 8 P.M.
260 W. 25th St. (Basement) Contrib.
OR 5-8884 Eves. AFT. DA 8-6154

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM
invites you to attend a discussion of C. Wright Mills' book on the Cuban Revolution, **Listen, Yankee.** Guest speaker from Fair Play For Cuba Committee. Cont. 50c.
FRIDAY, DEC. 16 — 8 P.M.
116 University Pl. (Off Union Sq.

RECEPTION
Honoring Delegates to National Meeting American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. American-Russian Center, 61 Rivington St. Entertainment - Refreshments. Cont. 99c. IND Subway to Houston St. Sta., or 2nd & 3rd Ave. Bus.

CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

1,000 Name & Address labels in plastic case, only $1. Your name and address beautifully printed on quality gummed paper. Free Gift Catalog. W. L. Whiteman Co., Box 6, NG, Boston 1, Mass.

ATTENTION GUARDIAN REPRESENTATIVES: Will tour the country showing color motion pictures of **USSR.** Best to come out of that country recently. Make money for the paper. Communicate with Ray W. Scott, 913 S. Lake St., Los Angeles 6 Calif.

1961 ART CALENDAR
This year's selection of eloquent pictures by 12 Bay Area artists—beautifully reproduced—with more than 150 historic dates. $1 per copy, 6 for $5. **Graphic Arts Workshop**, 271 Francisco, San Francisco 11, Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO

RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE
New Radios, TVs, HiFis for Sale
J. ARTHUR RAGSDALE
1526 27th Av. LO 6-4667
Discount to Guardian readers.

PUBLICATIONS

INTO CHINA by Claude Roy. Excellent book by fine French journalist. Praised by Scott Nearing. Reg. $4.95, **NOW $1.** Wellington Books, Belmont 78, Mass.

RESORTS

YES, THE HILLBERGS KEEP THEIR PLACE OPEN YEAR 'ROUND. Drop in for contrast. Phone: Kerhonkson 8008W, Kerhonkson, N. Y.

NEW YORK

RALLY TO ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICANS

Tues., Dec. 27, 8 p.m.—Adm. $1.

Carlton Terrace, 2633 Broadway (100th St.)

SPEAKERS: **Frank Wilkinson • Carl Braden**

who face imprisonment for defending their Constitutional rights against attack by the Un-Americans.

ENTERTAINMENT:

The Harvesters • Dramatic readings

Join N.Y. Council to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities at rally and in a delegation to Washington Jan. 2 to support Rep. Roosevelt's call for abolition of HUAC. Buses leave Times Square 5:30 a.m. Jan. 2. RT $5. Special student rate, $2.50. Admission to rally free with bus tickets. 106 E. 208 St., N.Y. 67. OL 5-0252.

SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N.Y. Spend a week-end or more in beautiful surroundings. Home cooking, TV, steam heat in each room. Make reservations for Christmas and New Year's. Write or call: Jeffersonville 290, Y. Schwartz.

A COUNTRY CLUB FOR YOUNG & OLD
is being organized on a non-profit basis. Members will get summer vacations or year-round living for $20 per week for room and board. Also other benefits. Write — **Katchor**, 213 Tompkins Ave. Brooklyn, N.Y. ST 3-6913, 5-7 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash in Culture" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

PALO ALTO

The most intriguing and unusual shop in California. Original gifts in glassware, ceramics metalware. Woodcarvings, paintings, perfumes, jewelry, greeting cards, toys. Gourmet foods and candies from every corner of the world, including Socialist countries Finest imported Stereophonic Hi Fi's and transistors.
ALTIERI IMPORTS OF THE WORLD
162 University Av. DA 6-3521
Discount to Guardian readers.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

AN INNOCENT MAN HAS BEEN IMPRISONED 3775 DAYS!!!
Your dollars will help free him. Write, phone **Comm. for Morton Sobell**, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10, AL 4-9983.

REAL ESTATE

HOMES FOR SALE (Summer & Year-Round) beautiful country, 45 mi. NYC. Summer day camp, lake, congenial community. Finances arranged. Call A. Mass, GE 8-6343.

MERCHANDISE

INSTANT HEAT THIS WINTER!
Come in and see our fine, top-rated Instant Electric Heater! Thermostatic control, safety switch (shuts off if you tip it over), blower; compact, handsome. **JUST $15.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (near 14th St.) GR 3-7819
1 hour free parking.

HELEN'S GIFT MART
Factory irregulars, closeouts.
Discounts up to 75%
287 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 73-74 Sts.)
Helen Milgrim, prop. TR 3-8060

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
features factory irregulars, closeouts.
Discounts up to 75%
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 74-75 Sts.)

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE! Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C. 856 Lexington Av. CY 8-6010
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av.
WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd.
MA 7-0444
Plainfield, N.J.: 311 E. Front St.
PL 7-0111

INSTRUCTION

PIANO—SOPHIE SOLOTAROFF, teacher of Yalta Menuhin, Juilliard, Diller-Quaile. New highly effective method. Outstanding results beginners, advanced students. Pedagogy. Phone: TR 7-1541.

SERVICES

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Most coverage for least payment
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lexington Av., N.Y. 17 MU 3-2831
Personal, business, fire, health, accident

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS — done in your home: **Reupholstery**, slip covers, tapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. Hy 8-7887.

PAINTER—private work our specialty.

GOOD MATERIALS.

Reasonable winter prices.
Phone: JE 8-4113.

If you are thinking of remodelling your fur coat—the most reliable place is:
MAX KUPERMAN
315 7th Ave. OR 5-7773
Also: Good buys in Alaskan Seal coats, Mink Stoles in all styles. Phone for appointment.

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Fall & Winter Weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties served anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years experience
Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

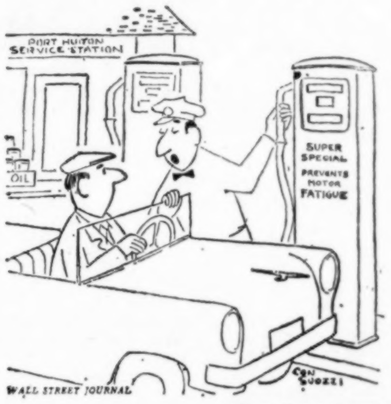
BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers)
Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hours) or BU 2-3398.

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons.
Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 PSC 768

THE GALLERY

PLACARDS DOTTED FRANKFURT in West Germany this month announcing in large letters: "Amerikanisches fussballspiel." Underneath was a picture of a helmeted American football player charging forward. The posters were to announce a "Freedom Bowl" services championship game between the Mainz Troopers and the SHAPE Indians. American officials wanted German spectators for the game to teach them "our way of life." As an added inducement a German announcer was to explain the game as it was being played. In order to satisfy skeptical West Germans who might have viewed the game as a fund-raising affair to help the American dollar deficit, the posters clearly explained that all proceeds went to the West German Refugee Ministry . . . . East and West Germany have worked out a peace agreement—on a limited basis. Carrier pigeon fanciers in both countries agreed to set up an exchange post on the border to return birds who lose their way and land on the wrong side of the curtain . . . From Hawaii it was reported that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency last year was looking for 15 blind persons to be trained for two years in Russian. Applicants had to have a high school diploma and no relatives in Europe. The CIA said it wanted blind persons because of their acute sense of hearing . . . . Browsing through a New York bookshop, a reader found Boris Morros' **My Ten Years As A Counter-Spy** displayed in the detective fiction section . . . . Bikini bathing suits have been banned in the Virgin Islands.

MEMBERS OF CALIFORNIA's Sierra Club, made up of hikers, skiers and nature lovers, are voting on a constitutional amendment requiring a loyalty oath by applicants for membership. In a statement accompanying the mailed ballots, Walter Heninger, the amendment's sponsor, said: "One and possibly two men will be watching the outcome of this election. To which will your vote give 'aid and comfort'—J. Edgar Hoover or Nikita Khrushchev?" . . . . The Assembly of Junior Statesmen of America last month defeated a resolution which asserted that juvenile delinquency is a communist plot . . . . Six readers sent us the same clipping on Sen. Barry Goldwater's statement that "where fraternities are not allowed, communism flourishes." . . . . Fraternities are allowed at New York's City College, but officials have twice turned down student requests to hear Cuba's UN Ambassador, Raul Roa Jr. . . . . At Wayne University in Michigan, a state-supported school, president Clarence Hilberry lifted a ban on Communist speakers. A student-faculty committee supported Hilberry's move by 20 to 10; all student members voted for it, all faculty members voted against it.



Wall Street Journal

". . . Or would you like to try our super-special with B-complex vitamins added?"

FOR LAST-MINUTE Christmas shoppers: Georges Kaplan in New York is offering a chinchilla bedspread for $7,500. A counterpart in fox sells for only $1,400 and Kaplan says it can double as a car rug. For thoughtful husbands who order a Russian sable coat for $25,000, Kaplan will deliver the coat on Christmas Eve, accompanied by a fitter who will see that it hangs properly . . . . On the other side of the coin, Finchley on Madison Ave. offers to send a chauffeured Rolls Royce to pick up any lady who wishes to avail herself of its "From Her to Him Shop." The lady will be served her choice of tea or coffee while she shops and the Rolls Royce will return her and her parcels home. The offer holds for any point in Greater New York, including the Bronx . . . . Those who prefer to shop by mail can get a package of Philters for 99 cents from a Cincinnati company. Philter is an all-filter cigarette with a tobacco tip . . . . For holiday imbibing, Lazzaro Baglietto in Saint Vincent, Italy, devised a "Ben Hur cocktail," which packs the kick of a chariot horse. It contains two parts vodka, one part white vermouth, two drops of bitter Campari, an orange rind and a cherry . . . . It may not seem readily apparent, but John Young, president of Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, points out that the use of instant coffee by North Americans "is a contributing factor to the spread of communism in Latin America." The educator reasons that "instant coffee is African coffee" and its use in the U.S. has "pulled the rug right out from under" the economies of several Latin American countries. The pulled-out rug then ushers in communism, according to Young.

—Robert E. Light

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service any time, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

CALVIN FORD
MOVING - - - STORAGE
Good used furniture for sale.
645 Allerton Av.
Phones: OL 2-6795 and 2-9033

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured household moving. Vans, station wagons, crating, storage. Local, long distance, small, large jobs.
THE PADDED WAGON AL 5-8343

WASHING MACHINE REPAIRS
Sales Service
NEW AND REBUILT MACHINES
Brooklyn GEdney 4-4228

TELEVISION & AIR-CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y.
CY 8-0420

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantees — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

HI FIDELITY SERVICE
Of. Monaural and Stereo Equipment
Installation and Repairs.
Tuners Aligned.
N. Weintraub IN 1-7459

For GBS bargains, SEE PAGE 12

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

GIVE RECORDS THIS HOLIDAY SEASON

48 Fine Classics - $1.98 each

(Minimum Order 2 Records—Stereo Records $2.98 each)

Vanguard Records

SRV 102—MOZART Sym. No. 40/ Eine kleine Nachtmusik

SRV 103* — RIMSKY-KORSAKOV Scheherezade (Rossi)

SRV 104 — HI-FI JINKS WITH STRAUSS (Paulik).

SRV 105—ORCH. MASTERWORKS OF J. S. BACH (Prohaska).

SRV 106*—BEETHOVEN 5th Sym. **SCHUBERT** Unfinished (Prohaska).

SRV 107—BIZET Carmen Suite/- L'Arlesienne No. 1 (Rossi).

SRV 108*—LISZT Hungarian Rhapsodies for Orch. (Fistoulari).

SRV 109*—HAYDN Sym. 100 Military and 101 Clock (Woeldike).

SRV 110—TCHAIKOVSKY Itallian Caprice 1812 Overture (Rossi); **RIMSKY-KORSAKOV** Spanish Caprice/Russian Easter.

SRV 111*—GREAT MASTERS OF THE WALTZ (Paulik).

SRV 112* — TCHAIKOVSKY Sym. No. 6, Pathetique (Golschmann).

SRV 113*—KHACHATURIAN Gayne; **KABALEVSKY** Comedians.

SRV 114*—DVORAK Sym. No. 5 New World (Golschmann).

SRV 115*—HANDEL Royal Fireworks Music/Water Music.

SRV 116* — BRAHMS, Symphony No. 4 in E. Minor (Golschmann)

SRV 118* — MOZART, Symphony No. 41 in C Major (Jupiter); Overtures to Figaro, Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute (Prohaska)

SRV 119* — ENESCO, Hungarian Rhapsodies, and **LISZT,** Hungarian Rhapsodies

SPECIAL

Monitor $1.98's with RICHTER & KOGAN!

MC 2050—BACH CONCERTO No. 1 in D MINOR and **SCHUMANN CONCERTO in A MINOR, with Sviatoslav Richter,** soloist; State Orch. of the USSR, Gauk, cond., and the State Radio Orch. under Sanderling.

MC 2051—PROKOFIEV VIOLIN CONCERTO No. 2, SAINT SAENS HAVANAISE, and **SERANADE MELANCHOLIQUE** by **TCHAIKOVSKY, Leonid Kogan,** soloist, and the State Orch. of the USSR, Kyril Kondrashin, cond.

Parliament Records

PLP 104—MOZART: VIOLIN CONCERTO IN D MAJOR #4, Jiri Novak, violinist, with Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Talich. PLUS **MOZART: CONCERTO FOR BASSOON AND ORCHESTRA,** C.P.O. cond. by Ancerl.

PLP 106—MOUSSORGSKY-RAVEL: PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION, C.P.O., Pedrotti, cond.

PLP 107—ROSSINI: OPERA OVERTURES (Barber of Seville, Italiana in Algeri, Semiramide), C.P.O., Sejna, cond.

PLP 108—FAMOUS OVERTURES AND PRELUDES (William Tell, Carmen, Merry Wives of Windsor, etc.), Vienna Symphony and C.P.O.

PLP 109—WAGNER: OVERTURES AND PRELUDES (Tristan, Parsifal, Rienzi, Tannhauser), Vienna State Orch., cond by Swarowsky.

PLP 110—DEBUSSY: LA MER, NOCTURNES 1 & 2; C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere.

PLP 111-2 (Two-record set) SMETANA: MA VLAST (Complete); C.P.O., cond. by Talich. "Magnificent."—**Hi-Fi Stereo Review. $3.96**

PLP 112-2 (Two-record set) TCHAIKOVSKY: SWAN LAKE (Complete); Skvor and Prague National Theater Orch. **$3.96**

PLP 114—RAVEL: BOLERO AND RHAPSODIE ESPAGNOL, C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere and Silvestri.

PLP 115 — RICHARD STRAUSS: ROSENKAVALIER WALTZES & TIL EULENSPIEGEL: Vienna State Orch., Swarowsky, and C.P.O., Swarowsky.

PLP 117—BEETHOVEN: "MOONLIGHT" SONATA & APASSIONATA SONATA, by Rauch and Vandrovic, pianists, respectively.

PLP 118 — DAVID OISTRAKH: PROGRAM of Prokofiev (Love For Three Oranges), Kodaly, Szymanowksy, Bartok, Suk and Vladigerov.

PLP 120—TCHAIKOVSKY: CONCERTO NO. 1, with **Sviatoslav Richter** and the C.P.O. under Ancerl.

PLP 121-2 — (Two-record set) DVORAK: SLAVONIC DANCES (Complete); C.P.O., Talich cond. ". . . nobody has achieved the rapport with this music that Talich has."—New York **Times** . **$3.96**

PLP 122—PROKOFIEF—SYMPHONY NO. 7, C.P.O., cond. by Anosov.

PLP 124 — LISZT: CONCERTO PATHETIQUE & SPANISH RHAPSODY, with the Hungarian State Symphony cond. by Vaszy & Lehel.

PLP 126—LISZT: LES PRELUDES (Leipzig Gewandhaus Orch., Konwitschny cond.; and **TASSO,** Prague Symphony Orch., cond. by Smetacek.

PLP 127-2 (Two-record album) SHOSTAKOVITCH: SYMPHONY NO. 7 (The "Leningrad" Symphony); A powerful performance of a monumental work, with the C.P.O. under Ancerl. **$3.96**

PLP 129 (*STEREO PLPS)—BEETHOVEN: SYMPHONY NO. 3; Czech Philharmonic under Von Matacic.

PLP 130 (*STEREO PLPS)—RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: SUITES FROM OPERAS LE COQ D'OR & KITEZH; Prague Symphony, Smatcek, cond.

PLP 131 (*STEREO PLPS)—BERLIOZ: SYMPHONY FANTASTIQUE; Czech Philharmonic with Zecchi, cond.

PLP 132 (*STEREO PLPS)—PROKOFIEV: ROMEO AND JULIET SUITE; Czech Philharmonic under Ancerl.

PLP 133*—HEBRAIC CHANTS FOR THE HOLY DAYS; the Marcel Lorand 'Trio;' a de-luxe two record set. **$3.96**

PLP 134—CONCERTO NO. 2 in C MINOR, for Piano and Orchestra, Rachmaninoff; the Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond. SVIATOSLAV RICHTER, pianist.

PLP 135*—HUNGARIAN RHAPSODY NO. 2; HUNGARIAN FANTASIA FOR PIANO AND ORCH., Franz Liszt; and **HUNGARIAN DANCES,** Brahms; the Hungarian Radio Symphony under Lehel.

PLP 136—SYMPHONY NO. 5 IN C MINOR; Beethoven; the CPO under Ancerl.

PLP 137 — RUMANIAN RHAPSODIES 1 & 2, Enesco; **EL AMOR BRUJO** (Ballet Suite); the CPO under Sylvestri and Meylan, resp.

PLP 138/2 -- (Two-record set) BEETHOVEN, PIANO CONCERTO Nos. 1 & 2; Emil Gilels and the Leningrad Philharmonic Orch. under Sanderling. **$3.96**

PLP 139—DVORAK, CELLO CONCERTO, Rostroprovitch with the Czech Philharmonic Orch. Talich, Cond.

***STEREO—Add $1 per record**

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

Orders filled only in the U.S.

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service

Name ....
Address ....
City .... Zone .... State ....

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Judgment of Paris

PARIS

AT A LUNCHEON on Monday, Nov. 21, in one of Paris' fine old restaurants, as tradition has it, the Goncourt Academy announced the name of its 1960 laureate. The deception was general.

Vintila Horia, a 45-year-old Rumanian refugee author, practically unknown in France, had written a bad book. The press had been practically unanimous in its judgment of **God Was Born in Exile.** The Horia novel is the imaginary diary of the Roman poet Ovid during the last exiled years of his life—"A poet like myself, an exile like myself," Horia said modestly—his comments on the birth of Christ, and his pre-conversion of sorts. **Le Monde** found the book lacking in substance and plausibility. The progressive **Liberation** put it down as the homework of a "mediocrely gifted pupil." Even the extreme right-wing **Paris Presse** deplored its lack of originality, warmth and life.

There was nothing really exceptional about the crowning of Horia: The Goncourt Academy has made bad choices before. Could it be that the preface to the book, by a prominent Catholic writer, Daniel Rops, had swung the weight in his favor? Was it the wish to reward a pro-Catholic novel because last year's prize had gone to Schwarz-Bart's **Last of the Just,** poignant chronicle of Jewish martyrdom through the ages? It was to be noted that of the ten-member Goncourt jury, the four writers with the most significant literary work—playwright Armand Salacrou, novelist and satirist Raymond Queneau, poet Pierre Mac Orlan and novelist Jean Giono—voted against Horia all the way.

BUT EVEN AT THIS POINT, if every one disliked the book, no one questioned the author's politics. According to an official biographical note, Horia had studied in Bucharest, became press attaché in Rome at 25 (in 1940) and, "after his liberation from a concentration camp," returned to live in Italy for several years before settling in Madrid. After a short Argentine stay, he came to France. On a TV program the night of the award, a reporter asked Horia a few straight questions about his political past. He waved them away in disdain. He had no intention of responding to insinuations.

Oddly enough, the first derogatory statements about Horia's politics were made in **Paris Presse** Nov. 24 by another Rumanian refugee writer, Virgil Georghiu (**The 25th Hour**). Horia remained unperturbed. To a **Le Monde** interviewer's question whether his portrait of Augustus, in his novel, was meant to represent Stalin, he said: "It is a dictator's portrait. It could as well be Hitler."

BUT ON NOV. 29 the Communist daily **Humanité** revealed that Horia had spoken of Hitler in very different terms 20 years earlier. Between 1937 and 1942, the paper disclosed, he had been one of the chief editors of two Iron Guard (fascist) papers, **Porunca Vremii** and **Sfarma Piatra,** and his political opinions then were explicit, often lyrical. "Adolf Hitler is a political genius," he wrote then. "Hitler, not Napoleon, is the first political man of modern times who merits the title of Great European." He found that National Socialism, "dynamic factor of a free Europe, is in force and in breadth what religion was in the Middle Ages, art in the Renaissance." "Hitler will be victorious," he announced in March, 1941, "for he represents the new idea which will defeat the old idea." And: "Behind the German leader stands the entire liberty-seeking humanity. In the other camp, there are all the underground hands of the Jews who play today their last card behind the mask of England and the U.S.A." He had special venom for Heine and Einstein.

Humanité revealed also that on Feb. 21, 1946, while Rumania was still under the reign of Michael I, and before it had become a socialist country, Horia had been condemned for these crimes: Pro-Hitlerite and pro-Fascist propaganda, slandering of democracy, spreading of anti-Semitic themes, and support of the Antonescu dictatorship.

The **Humanité** article was a bombshell. Horia began to talk. He said that he did not recall "those articles": he had written hundreds of them, and only remembered a few anti-Nazi ones. He also complained: "I don't know why people are digging up such ancient history." He admitted the 1946 condemnation, but, he said, it was for "anti-Communist" articles.

On TV that same night Horia read a long statement in which he apologized for certain "unfortunate phrases" in his past. But he was unable to refute any of the **Humanité** accusations, documented with originals and photo-copies. The "concentration camp" time turned out to be a stay in a hotel room in a German winter resort, to which the entire Rumanian diplomatic mission had been "deported" by the Germans when Rumania changed sides at the end of the war.

THE GONCOURT ACADEMY was chagrined. The four anti-Horia members were sarcastic. The other six—unquestionably misled by their canddiate—tried a face-saving operation by insisting upon the non-political nature of the Goncourt Award.

The conclusion came within 48 hours. In the entire French press, no paper would stand up for Horia. The National Fedn. of Deportees and Resistance Fighters sent a solemn protest. So did the Assn. of French Jews.

On Dec. 1, a letter was delivered by hand to the Goncourt president. In it Horia formally renounced his prize. The letter had been written at the instigation of his extremely annoyed publisher, and no doubt had been inspired to some extent by the Academy itself.

Vintila Horia then retired to the country. He had gained the material benefit of the Award: his novel, in its ten-day run as a Goncourt Prize, had an edition of 100,000. Dishonor is not deductible on a commercial balance sheet, but France and the world of letters had lost a fascist writer.

—Anne Bauer